DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 432 500 SO 030 733

AUTHOR	de Ravignan, Antoine
TITLE	Working and Inventing on the Streets of Africa. Innovations for Youth No. 1.
INSTITUTION	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France).
ISSN	ISSN-1020-0800
PUB DATE	1998-00-00
NOTE	65p.; "Education to Fight Exclusion" Project.
AVAILABLE FROM	Education to Fight Exclusion, UNESCO, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75732, Paris 07 SP, France.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Community Involvement; Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; *Global Approach; *Nongovernmental Organizations; Nonschool Educational Programs; Popular Education; *Social Services; *Youth Programs
IDENTIFIERS	*Africa; Asia; *Enda Tiers Monde; Latin America; Marginality; Senegal (Dakar)

ABSTRACT

This monograph considers the work of Enda-Tiers Monde, an international nongovernmental organization (NGO) based in Dakar, Senegal, which has many facets: street schools for working children, act and music shows for marginalized youth, town planning programs, income generation activities for prisoners, and drugs and AIDS prevention campaigns. The monograph describes and presents facts about some of Enda-Tiers Monde's programs and activities. It explains that Enda's teams work closely with local people in elaborating and carrying out programs in the belief that it is the young and the poor themselves (who normally have no say) who should conceive and carry out their own development strategies. According to the bulletin, Enda is attempting to redefine attitudes and approaches to work, learning, and environmental preservation, and is now carrying its activities to other countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The bulletin suggests that Enda Tiers-Monde's alternative approaches to today's world of globalization, urban expansion, economic instability, and fast demographic growth are of particular relevance to all those seeking an appropriate and equitable future for the countries of the southern hemisphere. (BT)

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INNOVATIONS for Youth n°1

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Endá-Tiers-Monde's work with youth in Dakar (Senegal)

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Working and inventing

VENDEURS DE JOURNAUX
LISEZ LA DÉBROUILLARDISE ET CONNAITRE LES 10 DROITS DES JEUNES ET ENFANTS TRAVAILLEURS
MERCERIE
DÉBROUILLARDISE
LES 10 DROITS DES HOMES DANS LE VENTRE DU CANARD
MERCI
LISEZ LA DÉBROUILLARDISE

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on the streets of Africa

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Working and inventing on the streets of Africa

by Antoine de Ravignan

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A few words about the Project...

What is being done today about the tide of exclusion facing so many of the world's young people? Images of youth unrest, unemployment, delinquency, despair and conflict are all too well-known, as is the discourse on their causes, but how well-known are the solutions being actively sought around the world, particularly in the countries of the South? With this present series, Innovations for Youth, UNESCO's youth project "Education To Fight Exclusion" has decided to identify, promote and connect particular projects around the world which are indicative of new trends and seem to hold rich lessons for all those combating youth marginalization. It is, indeed, vital that governments, UN agencies, international organizations, NGOs, educators and also communities learn of innovations for youth and acquire a new vision of how to approach young people's problems and learning needs. Current economic structures and education systems are obviously not serving the interests of young people. Merely advocating their expansion can only lead to further marginalization of young people and accordingly further jeopardize the future of the world. Change is urgently needed, particularly in the field of basic education.

As well as this series, UNESCO's project "Education To Fight Exclusion" also directly supports a selection of projects in over 30 countries. This can mean developing practical skills such as food processing, recycling techniques, energy technologies or creating alternative forms of education such as learning through video and radio, night and street schools, youth camps, house construction programmes, schemes for the upgrading of slums. More often than not, these activities are in the non-formal education sector. Each of the UNESCO youth project's initiatives takes young people's knowledge and will for change as its starting point, using local creativity and, often, the popular or informal economy as the impetus for income-generating activities. Through the informal economy, where solidarity and entrepreneurial skills are vital, young people can acquire literacy skills and see the concrete results of learning, working together and setting up businesses.

The wealth of experience in the informal economy shows that young people, especially in the South, have not been waiting around for answers to be given to them. Instead, in the sprawling and crowded cities of the world, they have already begun to pull through, coming together in networks, creating associations and developing small jobs. It is UNESCO's task, today, to validate their work and use it as a way to elaborate strategies for change and create a renewed impetus for basic education for youth. The world can no longer afford to ignore the plight of the world's excluded, notably in developing countries. It is up to all those fighting for change to support projects and call for a better use of resources, creating a wider and more sustainable vision of the world and education where young people, even the most excluded, can find their place.

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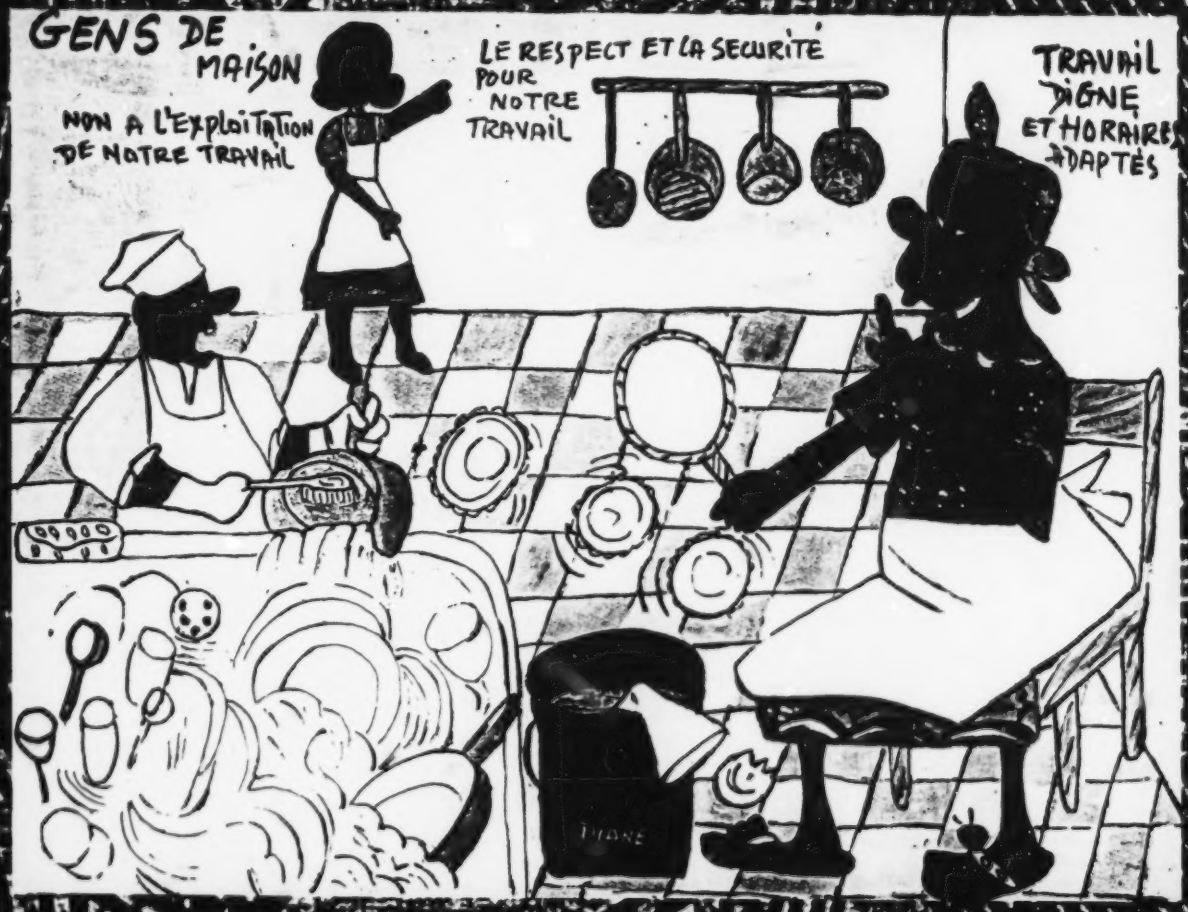
GENS DE MAISON
NON A L'EXPLOITATION DE NOTRE TRAVAIL
LE RESPECT ET LA SECURITÉ POUR NOTRE TRAVAIL
TRAVAIL DIGNE ET HORAIRES ADAPTÉS

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Live from a street school

"Street school for children" announces a billboard on an electricity pylon. To one's amazement, a few metres away, children are sitting on benches spread out in the middle of the pavement. They are carefully reading out a sentence their teacher has just chalked up in beautiful rounded writing. A blackboard is stuck on a piece of wall next to a shop and reveals the day's lesson for all to see.

In Rue Tolbiac, in the centre of Dakar, ten minutes away from the business and ministerial district, pupils from the four "classes" of Amouyacar Mbaye's school take up about fifteen square metres of the pavement. They sit surrounded by the noise of the street, the pollution and dust, with their backs turned away from the incessant flow of cars. The pupils try to ignore the weather-beaten taxis and buses hooting, the people coming and going, the delicious smells of doughnuts or kebabs. "We even have classes when it's raining" explains Amouyacar Mbaye, a man in his fifties, founder and head of the school. Unfortunately he can only provide a make-shift tarpaulin shelter for his pupils when bad weather makes conditions even more harsh. The police turn a blind eye to this unauthorized occupation of a public street. For them, in fact, it means fewer young people hanging around on the streets.

In 1983, Mr Mbaye, a former sailor and farmer, thought of creating a school for poor, out-of-school children. Having first set up a school in a suburb of Dakar - (three of his former pupils are now at university, he proudly declares) - he moved to Rue Tolbiac in 1990. It is one of the roads bordering the last slum area in central Dakar, the Rail district, now called Khadim Rassoul by its inhabitants. For him, teaching is a vocation. Not having had any higher education himself, nor any teaching qualifications, but driven by a burning desire to make knowledge available to the poor, he has turned himself into a crusader for education, making up for the gaps in a schooling system which can't provide education for all.

"In the formal system, pupils don't even know how to write a letter when they leave primary school," he declares. "For example, before I was able to benefit from public teaching, I was a Koranic student or "talibe" (1)" says Amouyacar Mbaye. "But after eight years of Koranic school, even though I knew all the verses by heart, I was incapable of reading or writing Arabic. One must give a chance to those already in school but also to those who have never been to school." Mr Mbaye, therefore, wel-

(1) Koranic school ("daara") pupils. Talibes are sent to "daaras" by their parents. They often live off very little and under the authority of a teacher. They sometimes have to beg for their everyday needs.

Street school

comes everyone, whether they go to school or not and whether they are orphans, street children or "talibes".

During the school year 1996-97, 150 children and young adults went to the Rue Tolbiac school under the guidance of Mr Mbaye and six other voluntary facilitators who were unemployed graduates. The school covers the six years of the primary education cycle. From 5 to 7.30 pm it also caters for extra-schooling, when children registered at the five public establishments in the area can also take part. Then, in the dim light provided by a few electric bulbs, between 8 and 10 pm, it's the adults' turn, when maids, mechanics, shoe-cleaners and street-sellers come to learn how to read and write. As for the children's level of learning, Amouyacar Mbaye's school produces results largely comparable to those of the formal system and, as the director points out, "We put twelve pupils forward for primary school certificates in 1997."

Until 1994, the school functioned on a purely voluntary basis. But teachers/facilitators found it hard to remain voluntary with the severe decline in living conditions that followed the devaluation of the CFA franc (2). They had to not only ensure their own survival but also continue teaching! Furthermore, adult learners began asking for extra facilities, such as benches and proper lighting during teaching sessions. The school, accordingly, now asks for a modest fee, dependant on the means of each pupil. This allows to cover the electricity bill (3,000 CFA per month), to buy chalk (300 CFA per day), and to provide a breakfast for the learners. But it is impossible to enforce payment as an obligation, at the risk of excluding a large number of pupils whose families are living in extreme conditions of poverty. The fees, therefore, just about cover running

(2) 100 CFA = 1FF = 0.175US$

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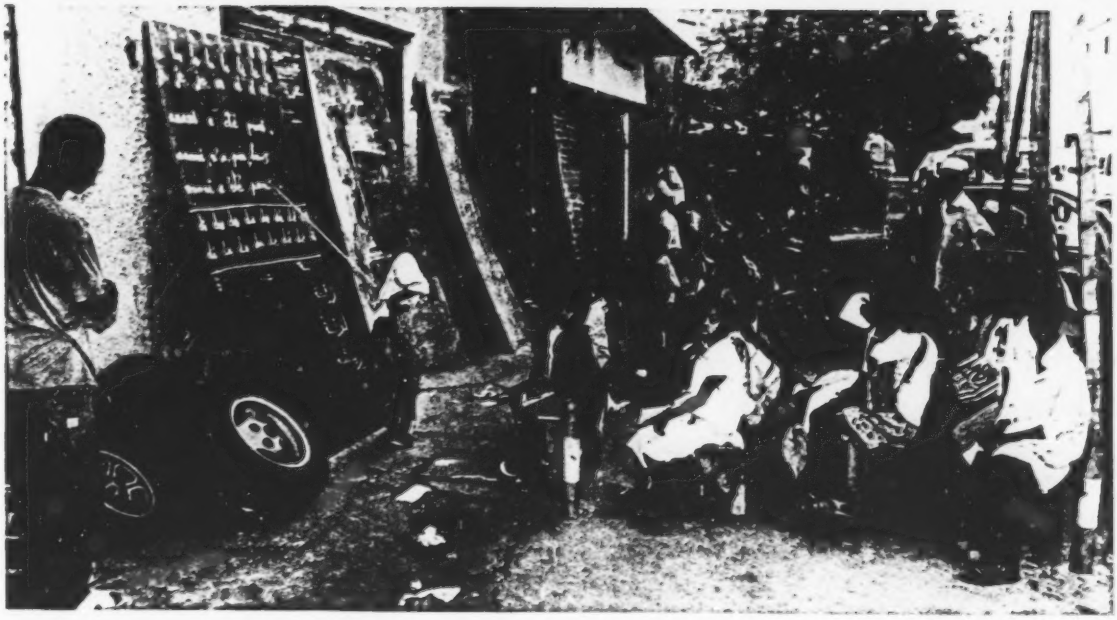


costs. The six facilitators share a monthly payment of 60,000 CFA which covers their travel expenses. This is allocated by the international non-governmental organization Enda (Environnement et Dévéloppement du Tiers Monde or Environmental Development Action in the Third World), within the framework of its support to "peoples' training initiatives" and other "street corner schools or groups" which are flourishing just about everywhere in Dakar.

And the future? For Amouyacar Mbaye, this kind of initiative must be replicated wherever necessary. As for his own school, despite several articles in the press, people have not been rushing to help him. There is some hope that a space - a real one - might be granted him during the upgrading of a neighbouring slum. To get there, in fact, one has to go through an earth alleyway, which begins a few feet along from Mr Mbaye's school. One can only walk along it in single file as it threads its way between tiny huts made of wood and corregated iron. It eventually opens into a small open square which boasts some vegetation. Surrounding are metalworkers' foundries, where cooking pots made of recycled aluminium are lined up in the sun, some street stalls and another street corner school. Further on are a few cheap cafes and an equally "informal" car mechanic's shop. Some 1,350 people live here on less than one hectare of land, a density of 170,000 inhabitants per square kilometre, which is fifty times more than the average density of Dakar.

This slum has a story behind it. Originally, the land belonged to the Petersen factory, an oil company which was in production until the 1970s. The district's name, Rail, comes from the rail tracks that used to run through it. The tracks mainly carried peanuts, cultivated in the interior of the country, to the factory. The first people to occupy the land were seasonal workers who were allowed to set up their huts there. When the site was closed, however, and a state factory was constructed at Kaolack, in the peanut-growing basin, the people held onto their huts. They began renting them out - without any real estate holding - at exorbitant prices to new-comers, often young country girls looking for jobs as maids in the capital. Because of their very low wages, these girls often live together to pay the rent and it is not unusual to find ten maids sharing fifteen square metres, for which they have to pay around 15,000 CFA per month.

At the beginning of the 1980s, real estate speculation was at its height. The Rail inhabitants became the tar-

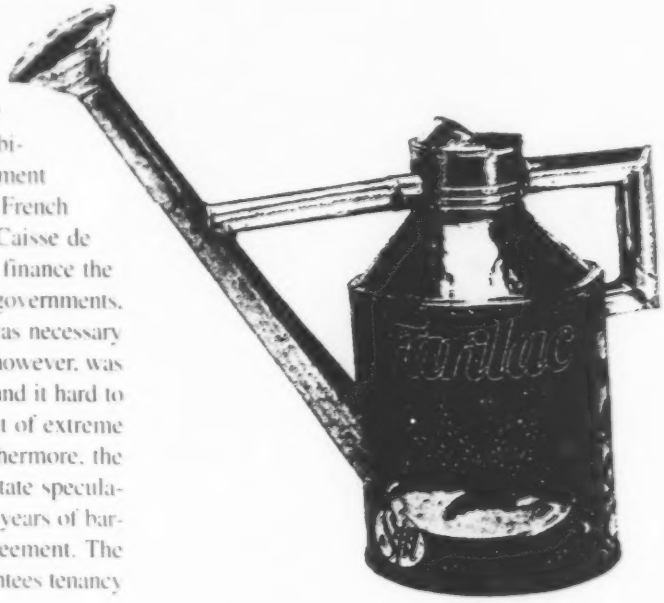
gets of both the private and public sectors. Court summons and expulsion threats were showered on them. When Enda became interested in the district, it was initially treated as just another speculator. Discusssions with the inhabitants, however, helped establish a relationship based on trust. It was soon understood that no kind of long-term project could be envisaged there, involving sanitation, health or education, unless the real estate problem was tackled immediately.

This problem, however, did not prevent Enda from starting to help the Rail inhabitants as early as 1985 in the improvement of their living standards. A healthcare hut was set up where medicine was handed out at production prices. Health representatives from among the population were chosen and trained. They now work under a doctor's supervision. The construction of a drinking-fountain, managed collectively, has meant that since 1993 there has been running water in the main square at the cost of 10 CFA per bucket whereas before one had to go and collect it elsewhere, and it was more expensive, 35 CFA. In 1995, public latrines were installed, which considerably helped improve sanitary conditions in the slums. In the same year, a group of Rail maids set up a little school for their own learning needs. It also welcomes pre-school and school children, offering tutoring after school hours. The tutors are volunteers living in the area.

Alongside these initiatives, contacts were made and built up with the landowners, the Petersen family, who say they are ready to sell the land to the inhabitants. In 1988 Enda obtained the endorsement of the Caisse francaise de développement (French Development Fund), or, at the time, the Caisse de Crédit et de Coopération économique, to finance the operation. As the fund deals directly with governments, an agreement from the Senegalese state was necessary to carry out the project. The government, however, was extremely reticent for a long period. It found it hard to tolerate these make-shift houses, a pocket of extreme poverty, right in the centre of town. Furthermore, the land was potentially profitable for real estate speculation. It was only in 1996, after almost ten years of bargaining, that all the sides came to an agreement. The state, now the legitimate landowner, guarantees tenancy of the land for a duration of twenty-five years (renewable), on condition that the Rail be upgraded in keeping with Dakar's plans for urban development.

The original inhabitants of the slum obviously had to be compensated, otherwise they weren't going to give up on their attempts to profit from the make-shift houses they had built without any real estate holding. Today, the Rail inhabitants, despite their great poverty, have started to smile again. "Now we're sure we can't be thrown out, life has become easier here. We will be able to invest in improving our living conditions. Before, that was impossible", explains Bigue Gueye, 25, who has worked as a house-cleaner since the age of 10. Today, she is one of the founders of the "non-formal" Rail school.

In 1997, a huge hall was built to bring together all the craftwork activities of the area. With Enda's help, the inhabitants have become their own town planners, reorganizing their space. An empty area remains on the periphery of the slum which is used for market gardening. The idea is to welcome other workshops here for the technical training of young people, including those at Mr Mbaye's school.



Enda, the whole story

"Someone once asked me what kind of organization we were, and I replied that we are more of a non-organization". Joking apart, Jacques Bugincourt, Executive Secretary of Enda, is extremely suspicious of anything synonymous with bureaucracy, categorization or hierarchy. "Many organizations have been planned in such a rigid way that they cannot meet the demands of those working in developing countries" he says. Enda is, however, one of the few large international non-governmental development organizations to be based in the South. Its headquarters are in Dakar and it is present in twelve countries, in Africa, Latin America and Asia, with a European representation. Today, it has around 300 associate employees. Since the early 1980s, Enda has essentially concentrated its activities in cities, convinced that the battle for development will be fought in the context of rapid urban expansion in the South. Furthermore, it seemed logical to Enda that one of their priorities should be to work with young people, who represent the future of towns and make up, at times, half their population.

Enda's story began in 1972. Jacques Bugnicourt had been teaching national development since 1966 in Dakar at a United Nations organization, the Economic Commission for Africa (IDEP). He was in charge of training planners and economists from the African continent, but began, with other colleagues, to question IDEP's academic teaching. They started challenging the irrelevant doctrines which seemed to oppose Marxists and others more faithful to economic models from North America. Furthermore, there appeared to be a real difficulty in students actually going into slum and rural areas. Jacques Bugnicourt and some of his colleagues believed that listening to what was actually happening in the field was the only way out. All the dimensions of a given context had to be analysed, with the aim of upgrading and developing that context. Transdisciplinary approaches also had to be encouraged.

So it was that, with the support of the Egyptian economist Samir Amin, Enda came to be as one of the offshoots of IDEP's programmes. Others were involved too: there was Cheikh Hamidou Kane, author of the famous book *"L'aventure ambigüe"*, later he became Minister of Planning in Senegal and president of Enda. There was the Argentinian town planner Jorge Hardoy, a pioneer in ways of addressing the issue of Latin American slums, the Moroccan geographer Mohamed Naciri and many other committed people. The organization of a training session, in 1972, on environmental development in the Moroccan Atlas mountains was Enda's first action. Researchers were present, local development representatives and villagers. Working indoors was forbidden; every session took place in the field. The active implication of villagers in the research work helped identify what actions needed to be taken immediately and how to draw up certain recommendations. The experiment was so innovative at the time that it was mentioned that very same year at an international conference in Stockholm as an example of what could be one form of environmental development.

For the dissenters at the IDEP, this first informal international meeting on the environment in Morocco heralded a battle of ideas. For the first time, under the influence of Maurice Strong, the concept of the "envi-

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ORGANISER L'ECONOMIE POPULAIRE URBAINE
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The history of Enda

ronment" had shed its limited definition and become linked to the notion of development. "In the name of the environment, we could request that the Ministries of Agriculture, of Industry and of National Development work together" explains Jacques Bugnicourt. "The environmental approach offered a way of looking beyond ideological differences, between capitalism and socialism, and presented an opportunity to go beyond divisions between scientific domains and even sectoral approaches to policy in different government administrations. In short, it allowed for a different approach to development". Enda was, therefore, one of the first organizations to fight for "sustainable development" (before the term became fashionable). It was a difficult gamble. At the time and even today, a good number of African and Third World intellectuals still see the environment as being solely the problem of industrialized and polluting countries. Worse still, many think that it was and is, in some way, a pretext for Northern countries to slow down industrialization and modernization in the South. Such debates continue today, especially with the inclusion of "green" clauses now being imposed in financial programmes by funding agencies.

This brief history sheds light on the main orientations Enda defined at the time of its foundation. First and foremost, Enda hoped to change the way of looking at problems, using, for example, the day-to-day experiences and the daily struggles of people such as peasants, fishermen, nomads and slum dwellers as their starting point. Their actions, the way they talked about themselves, their language and their culture were also to be starting points. Above all, there was an insistence that ways of acting and thinking should not be imposed from the outside.

Action and thinking had to be linked also. The classical approach which consisted in sociologists depicting a situation, town-planners thinking it through and others still bringing about the actual changes, needed to undergo a major shift. For the Enda pioneers, the fight

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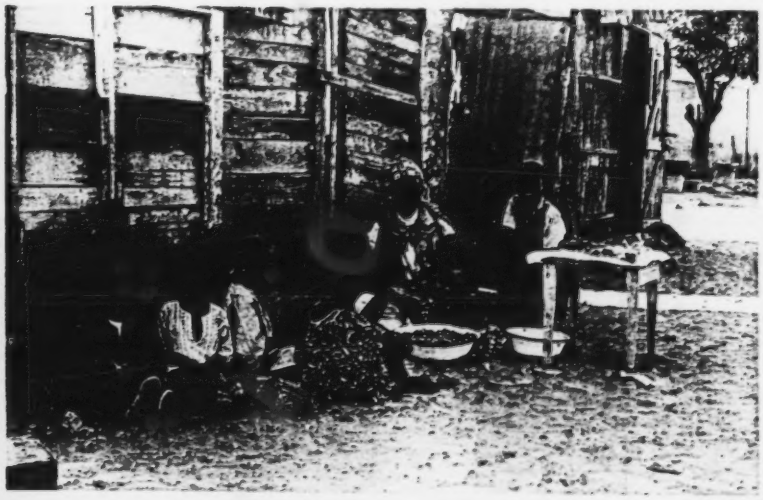
for development would be lost before it began if the gap between the elite, who monopolized both knowledge and power, and the people themselves was not bridged. This explains why Enda is involved both in the



field, alongside the poor, and in research (which has proved successful with an impressive list of publications). Another urgency was to break down the many walls between areas of research and bring it out of its ivory tower. "For people living an everyday life in society", says Jacques Bugnicourt, "reality isn't cut up into small pieces". Like people in the street, researchers from different disciplines must work together to analyse the "ins and outs" of reality in the field. At the same time, divisions between countries and linguistic spheres inherited from colonialization had to be overcome and any nationalist reactions fought. Enda wanted to concentrate on what developing countries had in common, beyond geographical and mental frontiers. It was from here that South-South relations in various domains began to develop and Enda's activities spread outside Senegal.

In 1975, to live up to all the standards it had set itself, Enda left the framework of IDEP and chose to set up its own association. The new organization was already fighting, at that stage, for the development of non-governmental organizations and their recognition by civilian society.

Until the early 1980s, Enda worked on the organization of international seminars and on the development of projects in urban areas, notably for young "delinquents" (as they were then called) or marginalized youths and the unemployed in Dakar. Branches were set up in Zimbabwe, India, the Dominican Republic and Colombia. The 1980s were characterized by an intensification of work in the field through the creation of new teams such as Enda Santé (Enda Health) and Enda Jeunesse Action (Enda Youth Action) and new branches in, for example, Morocco and Tunisia, and by refining the Enda approach: no longer acting for the poor, but with the poor and from the poor. The concept of "research-action-training", the pillar of Enda's methodological approach, was built up over these years as a result of lessons learned through the failure of a certain number of field work projects. This was also a time when work with the poor in Dakar, Bogota, Santo Domingo and Bombay helped the organization measure the success of their economic initiatives and their creativity in times of crisis. Thereafter, Enda, began to employ much of its efforts in upgrading the value of what traditional economists call the "informal economic sector". This meant directly supporting people, researching and raising awareness amongst the media, the public and aid agencies. Rejecting the term "informal" which was seen to be pejorative, Enda continues to fight, today, for the recognition of the "popular urban economy" which, in poor cities of the South, tends to employ most of the young people cast aside by the school system and those who have not been able to integrate it. These people, says Enda, should not be forgotten in the politics of development, which traditionally focuses on the modern sector of the economy.

The 1992 United Nations conference on Environment and Development in Rio was a decisive turning-point for Enda's international activities (1). Before, during and after Rio, and at all the following international conferences, (the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, the Cairo Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development at Copenhagen, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the Habitat II Summit in Istanbul) (2), Enda has participated in the drawing up of different non-governmental organization platforms for action and their negotiation with states. Enda continues to work within the framework of the

follow-up to these conferences, helping to structure the NGO movement on an international scale, particularly in Africa, so that non-governmental organizations can be heard by states and international institutions.

Rather than a hierarchical international organization, Enda is, in fact, much more of a galaxy of programmes in a variety of fields (traditional medicine, the fight against AIDS, support to working children, upgrading of the popular urban economy, basic education for all, energy resources, etc.) with teams and branches set up in places as far apart as Bogota, Ho-Chi-Minh City, Harare and Bombay. Enda's different branches work in a very decentralized manner, in their actions and in their funding. There is no hierarchical accounting to the Dakar headquarters, where several teams also have their own field work programmes. Dakar plays more the role of drawing all these activities together, their common denominator being the unflagging fight against poverty.

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(1) Enda was granted advisory status at the economic and social committee of the United Nations.

(2) During each of these United Nations meetings, from 1992 to 1996, Enda published the newspaper "Vivre autrement". A new issue dedicated to the outcome of these conferences has also been published (see bibliography).

Children of Dakar, children in crisis

Formely the capital of the Afrique Occidentale Française, then capital of Senegal after independence, Dakar spreads out across the Cap Vert peninsula, the extreme west point of the African continent. During the colonial period, Dakar with its maritime facilities, railways and roads became the main infrastructional centre for the economic exploitation of inland Senegal and other West African colonies. After independence, the young Senegalese State concentrated most of its investments on this region of the country, which today holds nine-tenths of the industrial activity.

Today, the imbalance between Greater Dakar and the rest of the country has reached worrying proportions. The metropolitan zone is made up of three subdivisions, Dakar, Rufisque and Pikine, which count between them a population of over 2 million (half of whom live in Pikine), that is to say one quarter of the country's entire population (8 million in 1996). Density is estimated at 3,090 inhabitants per square kilometre, against a national average of 37 per square kilometre. Urban growth estimated at 7 per cent per year, is amongst the highest in the world and Dakar's population could double over the next fifteen years. This urban explosion can be explained by the natural increase in population, about 3 per cent per year, and by a strong rural exodus and emigration from surrounding countries. Young people represent the majority of this population (55% under the age of 20, even up to 60% in some districts of Rufisque and Pikine).

Within this context, schooling and professional opportunities for the young are a challenge the Senegalese government no longer has the means to meet. While demographic growth demands an increase in infrastructure for education and employment programmes, the state has, on the contrary, over the past fifteen years, been bent on a policy of restricting budgetary expenditure. The result is that social sectors (education, health, etc.) have suffered. The structural adjustment programme, negotiated with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to revive the macro-economic sector, has led to a slowly decreasing number of civil servants over the last ten years; nearly 66,000 are now employed for the whole country. It is true that the budget allocation for education is significant - 32 per cent in 1996 (85.7 thousand million CFA), but the allocation for elementary education granted by the Ministry of Education is decreasing, from 49 per cent in 1985 to 33 per cent in 1993, according to a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) study that states that the proportion should be increased to 64 per cent in order to reach a school attendance rate of 75 per cent, one of the Senegalese government's objectives for the year 2000.

In 1996, the gross enrolment ratio at the primary level (57 per cent of 1,535,300 children of school-age), certainly slightly increased at national level, after a fall in numbers in 1991 and a stagnation during the following years. But this progress is purely statistical. It can be explained by two phenomena: firstly by the recruitment of 1,200 education volunteers in 1995 (unemployed graduates), paid 50,000 CFA per month, which is not much more than the minimum wage, much to the dismay of teachers' unions, and secondly by the specta-

cular development, in low income areas, of what are modestly named double-shift classes. This last system, which touches all sectors of primary education, although mainly the first years of schooling, consists of taking on one half of the classes (about sixty pupils) in the morning, and the other half in the afternoon. In other words, children of these double-shift classes spend half as much time at school and are left to their own devices the rest of the time, while teachers have twice as many pupils to cope with. If this is seen as an improvement in school attendance, then it is to the detriment of pedagogy, of how children follow lessons and of what is actually taught. In 1993/94, according to official statistics, there were 975 such classes in Senegal. Two years later, there were 2,661.

In the centre of Dakar, in 1995/96, 112,000 children went to school this way, that is to say half of all primary-school pupils. In Pikine, the double shift system is general practice. It has not managed, however, to increase the primary school attendance rate in the Dakar area, which, on the contrary, is continuing to decline regularly: 93 per cent in 1991/92, 88 per cent in 1995/96 (95 per cent of whom are boys, 81.5 per cent girls). Quite apart from the deplorable material conditions (low teacher pay, overcrowded classes, classrooms in a bad state, poor sanitary conditions, lack of recreational activities, etc.) and methods of teaching ill-adapted to local realities which demotivate pupils, the formal education system is also characterized by poor rates of return. Only one fifth of pupils in CM2 (the last year of the primary cycle), pass the exams for enty into secondary school.

Of the others, half retake a year and the rest drop out. According to a joint study made by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNICEF, only 17.5 per cent of children attending primary school have a real chance of getting into secondary school.

Even before the secondary cycle, drop-out is massive and so it is that the "school waste" (a term commonly

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used in Senegal), join the ranks of the young unemployed, without any kind of qualification or hope for the future.

Where do the growing waves of those cast aside by the schooling system end up? (not counting those who graduate from the schooling system without any guarantee of a job either?) Child labour has become a widespread phenomenon in Dakar, as elsewhere, with shoe cleaners and newspaper sellers walking the streets, trainee mechanics and apprentices toiling in workshops, and young people from the country working as domestic staff. Children have always worked, particularly in the country, but traditionally as an introduction into adult life and for social integration. Today, however, their work represents an activity which is vital for the survival of families in Dakar, who have become impoverished by a succession of causes: the employment crisis in the modern sector, the state's loss of influence, structural adjustment which introduced the principle of "real prices", and, of course, the devaluation of the CFA franc, by 50 per cent, on the 10th January 1994, which created high inflation for the majority of the population without improving incomes. There are no reliable statistics about the number of children working in Senegal. Data mainly come from a joint enquiry led by the Senegalese government, UNICEF and ILO, published in 1993: among 6-14 year olds, estimated at the time at 1,486,000 in all Senegal, 29 per cent were considered as active, 46 per cent in school and 25 per cent unemployed. Among these active children, the majority were employed within the family unit (243,000), 155,000 worked outside the home, and 28,000 were looking for work. Children who have broken away from their families, living and working on the streets or markets of the capital (an image often disseminated by the media in search of sensation) in fact represent only a small part of the reality. Their number is increasing, though, and it is estimated that they are between 2,000 and 4,000 in the capital. The weight of poverty is, therefore, absorbed by families working together, which is becoming more difficult with the impoverishment of households, but also eased by the increase in neighbourhood associations. But how long can this situation continue?

This is the main area on which Enda is focusing in Dakar. Its activities for young people, implemented by different teams, have, therefore, several facets: accompanying children in the street, supporting youth associations and working children, backing community training initiatives, environmental education, training for young people in prison or placed in homes by courts, the fight against AIDS and the organization of leisure activities for the most underprivileged. A patchwork of projects, but a common concern for action: never to do anything for people, instead of them, never to behave like a funding agency, and always start from and with local dynamics as a catalyst for change.

Enda Jeunesse Action : lessons from the field

Wednesday, 21 May 1997, at the Assane Diouf stadium, on the sea-front, near the "plateau" district. Fernand Nadiaka, alias "Zak", street animator, member of Enda's Jeunesse Action team in Dakar and occasional football trainer, gives some last-minute advice to the young players before the match. There are fifteen of them, in rags, barefoot, playing for the tournament against other local clubs. The contrast between them and the others is striking, even if, in the raging battle of a game, the differences are less obvious. There is David, short despite his 15 years of age. Expelled from a re-education centre, beaten by his mother, he prefers life in the street. He sleeps on steps, under cardboard boxes, and goes looking for food wherever he can get it. There's Mamadou, 17, with a sad face, who came to Dakar three months ago. He fled Thies, the neighbouring town, and a school where he learnt nothing for ten years and where his teacher bullied him. He "lives" in the Place de l'Independence. Recently he has learnt how to make toys out of wire with John, a craftsman from Zaire who has set himself up at the Ecopole. Three afternoons a week, he and his friends meet up with Zak. Four months ago, they decided to set up their own football school. The first tournament was a disaster. Now though they have time and have qualified for the finals. They will lose, but it doesn't matter, they are making progress.

"They are not in very good shape. They smoke, they sniff "guinz" (1) on the beaches," explains Fernand Nadiaka, who watches over 20 of the 100 adolescents followed by the Enda Jeunesse Action programme in Dakar and its suburbs. For these young people, going home to their families is out of the question. The team's first step, however, is to try and re-establish a link with the family. An "introduction to life" camp is proposed to children who have broken away from their families. The camp is ten days of friendly meetings, hearings, activities, during which the family - with whom a new contact is attempted - is always the central topic of discussion. On leaving the camp, almost half of the children return to their homes and the team ensures regular monitoring. As for the others, the team continues to work with them, wherever they may be.

The philosophy is to always start from the children's own requests. The only thing that is forbidden is the use of drugs at meetings. If, for example, they want to set up a football team? They will soon learn what that means: a lot of hard work and perseverance. Football is only a pretext, but it is what makes the educational work, reflection and integration possible and allows for the practical application of the young person's proposals.

In its beginnings, in 1985, Jeunesse Action set up small crafts workshops, near the beaches, in which a number of deprived youths participated. On paper, all the keys to success had been brought together: a participatory approach, income-generating activities, etc. But in the long run, Enda came to realize that these projects did not work because they expressed what the instructors wanted of the children rather than the requests of the actual participants, and so the approach was definitively abandoned.

(1) cellulose thinner. Each bottle costs 250 CFA.

The right to play

Instead, Jeunesse Action began to search for solutions to the problem of young people and children on the street. It became the subject of a regional conference at Grand-Bassam (Côte d'Ivoire, February, 1985), initiated by the International Catholic Child Bureau, Enda and several other organizations. In their final report, the seventy-five professionals from fourteen African countries, from both non-governmental organizations and government services, spoke again of how wrong it is to view street children as delinquents. Most infrastructures (supervised education, legal services, etc.) are aimed at dealing with delinquents, who, in fact, are in a minority. Not only are these services poorly adapted, but they also do not answer the global problem of children and young people who have broken away from their families, who should be the "subject", not the "object", of any programme or project. It is they who must play the main active role in any operation. Numerous recommendations came out of the Côte d'Ivoire meeting: the need for large-scale prevention work, the need to raise community awareness and look for community participation, the need to fully inform the public of the role of national services and request co-operation, the need to train animators/facilitators and adapt teaching skills, thereby encouraging the economic activities of young people (at the time, the extent of productive activities in the informal sector was beginning to be researched). Enda was commissioned to follow up on this enormous work plan at regional level. This led to the creation of the Jeunesse Action team.

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Little by little, the term "street children" was dropped by Enda's animators. On the one hand, it was considered derogatory, and, on the other, it didn't correspond to social reality - children who had completely broken away from their families, with no home, being in a minority. Most children working on the street remain attached to their families. Jeunesse Action aims to include all categories of marginalized youth (working children, out-of-school, etc.). Their activities with children who have actually broken away, in fact, only represents a small fraction of their work.

In Dakar, fourteen people, twelve of whom are animators, work daily in the city, dividing their time between accompanying break-away children, supporting working children, training activities, cultural actions and backing the initiatives of numerous youth associations, principally sport and cultural organizations.

Keeping up ties with these and other local associations are an important part of Jeunesse Action's activities. For a long time, the team mainly acted as a kind of "supportive brother", providing services, lending sound equipment and a stage for shows and concerts and giving occasional financial support. Enda helped make things easier for many associations. In return, Enda's actions were multiplied, at least by the minority of associations which had similar social and cultural programmes. Relations with associations, however, were not always devoid of ambiguity. Before joining the Jeunesse Action team, Oussmane Gassama, now in charge of relations with the associations, was himself from an association in Thiaroye (a community in the suburbs of Dakar). He remembers: "At the time, when we were setting up social projects, we were sure that we were going to receive material support. However, the library we created in Thiaroye thanks to Enda, didn't work, because we hadn't analysed popular demand in the area. For us, non-governmental organizations were just financial backers, and all we had to do was find out where their weak points were." In 1991, there was a change of tone. Meetings between Enda and their partner associations began to focus research on new ways of working. Enda felt that groups/associations should learn to answer for themselves, and look for ways of financing their own projects, closely studying the relevance of each economic and social initiative. Without renouncing its direct support, Enda began multiplying the number of training programmes for those in charge of associations: joint reflection on failures or difficulties of current activities, studying the realities of life in the districts in which projects are carried out. Is a project really viable? Does it provide real answers for real problems? What exactly needs to be done? Do we have the means? These sessions, known as participatory action research ("recherche action participative" or RAP) allowed many groups of young people to become participants in local development. And when one finds oneself with nothing but one's own resources, innovation is often the name of the game, as the story of the Centre international d'information et de sensibilisation sur les drogues (CISD) (International centre for drugs awareness) in Thiaroye shows.

Originally a project of the Coopération française (French development agency) to create a centre in Thiaroye for drug prevention and information, it soon became obvious that it was insufficient to meet the needs of youth associations who wanted more than a simple meeting room. They felt sport, cultural or craft activities should be proposed, to attract children to the place. The associations also demanded that the activities of the centre be co-ordinated with their own work in the neighbourhoods and that they participate in management. A whole programme grew up accordingly. Enda was the mediator for negotiations between the state, sporting and cultural associations, and the Coopération française (which was not eager to increase its original budget). Obstacles were overcome and the three motivated associations mobilized 80 young people and, with the support of local craftsmen, put together a huge exhibition hall, information and manual activity sessions. It came to be called the Centre international d'information et de sensibilisation sur les drogues (CISD) and includes a basketball ground, a covered surface for martial arts and an open-air theatre. The result is that the centre is filling up. The CISD, inaugurated in February 1995 by French President Jacques Chirac, is benefiting from outside backing from the United Nations anti-drug programme and the French and Austrian development agencies, and it continues to function thanks to the 85 associations which invest in it today.

Between international action and field presence

Jeunesse Action is made up of two large sectors: the international sector and the fieldwork programmes. The international team, comprising eight people, has four principal activities:

- supporting movements for young and child workers;

- training urban animators at regional level. The African training programme, created five years after the Grand-Bassam forum, allowed more than 1,500 animators to be trained between 1990 and 1997 in fifteen different African countries. The training modules concentrate on participation strategies, on research-action, listening to young people and evaluation;

- lobbying through the organization, or participation of local partners and animators at international meetings (fifteen in 1996) that deal directly or indirectly with the question of working children or education (a consultation was held with UNICEF on working children in New York, March 1996), followed by the Mid-Decade Review on Education for All in Amman, Jordan (June 1996), and the first International Meeting of Young and Child Workers in India (December 1996), etc;

- disseminating information. Following the Grand-Bassam forum, Jeunesse Action began editing *"La lettre de la rue"* (Letter from the street), an outlet for working children and youth, who could intervene directly, as well as a series of booklets on specific themes: associations, training for social animators, support campaigns for street children, accounts of training sessions, the situation of household employees in Dakar (a 100 issues published between 1985 and 1997). The general public is also reached through the media including documentary films co-produced by Enda's audiovisual team.

Fieldwork programmes are carried out by Enda in Dakar, Ziguinchor and Saint Louis (Senegal), and Bamako (Mali), and by partnering organizations, in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire (Abidjan, Grand-Bassam and Bouaké) and in the Republic of Congo.

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Working children from around the world...

"I was born near Fatick. My village is poor because it doesn't rain enough. There's hardly enough to eat, no money, no work. When I was eight, I left my parents and family of fifteen and went to stay with an aunt in the suburbs of Dakar to look for a job. I went from door to door until a woman took me to mind her baby, clean clothes, do the washing-up, from eight in the morning till eight at night for 2,000 CFA per month." Oumy Ndir's story is similar to that of tens of thousands of girls who come to the city hoping to be employed as "mbindaan" or all-round maids. In Senegal there are about 86,000 such workers (more than the number of civil servants!), toiling away for next to nothing from a very early age. When she was 18, a new job turned into a nightmare. "I was working fourteen hours a day, without a single day off. I was eating left-over scraps from meals. I was exhausted, disillusioned. One day at the end of the month, her boss was short of money. She accused Oumy of stealing jewellery so that she wouldn't have to pay her, tried to get her to pay for the jewels and then fired her. It was the last straw.

Oumy contacted the maids' foyer of the HLM Montagne district (government subsidized housing). The foyer was set up, on the initiative of a group of "mbindaan", in 1985, with the support of Jeunesse Action. It provides training (reading and writing, sewing, knitting and cooking), but it is also a space for mutual help. The intervention of a mediator from the centre allowed Oumy to retrieve her month's salary. For her and others, the affair was the chance to think about the conditions of house workers. "As we were discussing our problems, we became convinced that we had to organize ourselves." The struggle to get organized began in the spring of 1992, on the little island of Gorée, off the Dakar seafront. Gorée, a heavily symbolic place throughout history, point of no return during the time of slavery, became the starting point for others to begin their struggle for freedom. Oumy and her colleagues spent a whole day there with animators from the HLM Montagne centre. It was a time for relaxation, but also for discussion on work conditions and rights. The maids decided to hold regular meetings, the first of which was fixed for the first day of the month of May, a Sunday but also May Day. "But it's the workers' vacation day!" objected the animators, who explained the meaning of the event to them. "Are we not workers too?" They replied. "Why don't we take part in the marches as well? We also have to defend our rights". "Suddenly, we had begun organizing ourselves", remembers Oumy, who, today, at 22, is president of the movement Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (EJT) (Child and young workers's movement) in Dakar which has over 800 members. Delegates were sent to further neighbourhoods to meet other EJT groups and prepare for the first May Day in 1993. The meetings only really succeeded, however, in 1994.

This nascent trade union organization for minors took animators by surprise. "At the time we just couldn't imagine that a child workers' organization could ever see the light of day in Africa", says Fabrizio Terenzio, head of the international Jeunesse Action

LE DEFILE DETONATEUR
LA VIE EST UN COMBAT
LES BONNES A TOUT FAIRE (M'BINDAAN) TOUTES ENSSEMBLES
L'HOMME N'EST PAS UNE MACHINE
NIT DOU MACHIN
HAUSSE AUX SALAIRES DE MISERE
TRAVAIL INFORME CITOYEN A 700 %
M'BIN DAAN DOU DIAM
DONNE MOI PAS ESCLAVE
4 DAKAROIS SUR 5 SONT NOS CLIENTS
BIDONVILLE DETRUIT TRAVAIL ANEANTI
QUI VIVRA VERA
COUWA!... LES DIANHK MANIF MAINTENANT
DIANE

Housemaids' march

team. At the time the only organized movements were in Peru and, to a lesser extent, in Brazil. 1992 was a year of renewed awareness. A meeting entitled "Children's Rights to Development" was held in Benin. An invited magistrate spoke about the difficulty of spreading the convention on children's rights. "So we went and talked to children in the markets of Cotonou." Fabrizio Terenzio remembers: "Do you know what your rights are?" we asked. "We realized that the children were aware of some rights, and these weren't abstract, rather real aspects of international law: for example, the right to work safely, without being rounded up by the police". The same year, ILO UNICEF and the Senegalese government set up a group to research into child labour in Senegal. Enda also participated and provided a study on young girls' labour in households. The eighteen-month study, based on individual and collective discussions with girls working as maids, helped to understand their ambitions and situation. In March 1994, discussions on the results of the inquiry were held with the groups of maids, who checked the exactness of the final report. This led to the definition of a common plan for action which could be presented by the maids at the following May Day demonstrations. This time, the maids were ready; they had negotiated their participation with the various trade unions and had drawn in groups of working boys as well: shoe cleaners, boys who recycle and recharge lighters, and many others.

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The May Day processions, in Senegal, usually attract middle-class employees and people working in the modern sector. Those who work in the informal sector don't join in. When 600 maids joined the marches in 1994, brandishing their banners proudly declaring "Nit du masin" ("we are not machines"), there was general amazement. Most upper-and middle-class Senegalese households employ maids and many felt directly targeted. "Our action was an immense success; we were on television and that had a huge impact. The procession was a catalyst, it really stimulated us," Oumy remembers. May Day, the following year, there was another procession. Meanwhile, the movement had moved ahead at lightning speed thanks to the network the international Jeunesse Action team had created over the years. Contacts were made with other EJTs working in Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Mali, where organizations had been set up with support from Jeunesse Action and its partners. During their first regional meeting, in Côte d'Ivoire, July 1994, the EJTs identified twelve rights which they were to defend and define together. The next year in Bamako (Mali) at the second regional meeting, 21 African cities were represented. Progress was evaluated and strategies defined to put the rights demanded into practice. The 180 participants and animators were received by the Malian president, Alpha Oumar Konaré, who declared: "Life is a struggle, and it's you, through your presence here, who give us the example. We will always be behind you." Even if the road ahead is still very long, the EJTs have already managed to gain strong recognition of their movement.

Again the next year the movement spread further still and, after much preparatory work, the first intercontinental meeting of movements for working children and youth was held in Kundapur, India, in December 1996. It brought together representatives of movements from thirty-three African, Latin American and Asian countries. It was the delegates from the movements who, at a preparatory meeting, insisted on holding the meeting in India, because a campaign to boycott products made by children was being carried out there. Furthermore, the child worker organization or EJT there was weaker than the one in Africa or Latin America.

In Kundapur, in their final declaration, the EJTs demanded full recognition of their initiatives and the way they were organizing themselves. They called for the end to exploitation but demanded the right to work in decent conditions and declared themselves against the campaigns to boycott products made by children. For them, the struggle should not be directed at abolishing children's work - which would be difficult to implement anyway - but rather against the causes for such a situation evolving in the first place. Finally, they insisted on being consulted on any decision which concerned them, be it at local, national or international level. Progress has been made concerning this last point. In February 1997, eight delegates from the EJT movements were given a voice at a conference in Amsterdam where they spoke about the most intolerable forms of child exploitation. This was in preparation for a new ILO convention to be signed on this very subject and to be negotiated in Geneva in May 1998. Despite the support of several personalities, the EJTs are going to find it difficult to get their message across.

The presence of organized groups of children in Amsterdam, considered as equals by adults, was undeniably a sign of enormous progress, and one which did not go unnoticed by the press. The children had not been persuaded to come by adults, as often happens, but had taken the decision to come on their own. "It wasn't a presence, but more a representation. When the children spoke out, nobody dared stop them," recalls Fabrizio Terenzio. The EJTs identified the heart of the

problem: would abolishing child labour really improve their situation? The representatives stand for the millions of other working children suffering similar plights. They also represent the movements set up by working children which exist today, even if there are not many of them.

"But aren't you manipulating these children by supporting their attempts to organize themselves?" some people ask. "That's an objection we hear all the time! But who can really say they don't influence children? We try to do so as little as possible, and don't believe anyone else is doing any better than we are in the domain," Fabrizio Terenzio replies. It is indeed difficult to qualify the presence of Jeunesse Action animators as manipulation. The Dakar EJT election committee meetings, for example, are moments of partnership (care is taken to associate each young person to an older one in order to ensure continuity). At the meetings, Bamba Diaw, one of the supervisors, only writes on the blackboard and selects points made by the young from time to time to facilitate the meeting's progress. As for Oumy, she is categorical : "The supervisors help, but we are the ones who make the decisions".

In what tangible ways has this movement for working youth made concrete progress, apart from gaining recognition by the authorities, the population and the media? The fifteen EJT groups in Dakar, which bring together maids, porters and shoe-cleaners, have, for example, set up mutual health insurance groups for common diseases, financed through membership fees. Certain groups have also managed to obtain discounts for medication and consultations at health posts. Reading and writing is also an achievement for all of them. Contacts with the police forces and the creation of a system of membership cards has helped reinforce security for children working in the street. Police in Dakar today rarely perform round-ups of shoe-cleaners and children selling lighters; previously it was common practice. As for the maids' situation, Oumy says she has noticed a distinct improvement in relations with employers. Other groups of "mbindaan", based in the Grand Yoff neighbourhood and working in collaboration with the Graf (Group for research-action-training), another Enda team, have gone even further: they have created an employment agency, and have obtained the right to name employers in case of conflict. The next battle will be for the establishment of valid and correct work contracts.

Bamba Diaw is afraid that this extraordinary mobilization and organization might lose steam. "If young people don't manage to get their own economic projects off the ground, they'll lose motivation". Oumy would like to become a seamstress. Abdoulaye Sognane, shoe-cleaner and vice-president of the Dakar EJT, would like to work in leather tanning. He will need training, and both of them will need loans, impossible to obtain from conventional banks. Further work is vital then to overcome this obstacle.

The Twelve Rights for Child and Young Workers

- The right to train for a profession
- The right to stay in the village (not to have to emigrate)
- The right to work safely
- The right to have access to a fair trial in case of problem
- The right to rest in case of illness
- The right to be respected
- The right to be listened to
- The right to do light and limited work, adapted to our age and capabilities
- The right to health care
- The right to learn how to read and write
- The right to have fun, to play
- The right to express and organize ourselvelves

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Education: filling in for the State

People didn't just stand around helplessly when the Senegalese school system went into crisis. In Dakar and surrounding areas, families, youth associations and professional groups were already well aware of the dangers of leaving young people isolated and without anything to do: de-motivation, lack and loss of hopes, increased delinquency, drugs or prostitution. "Popular training initiatives" began flourishing everywhere in an attempt to make up for the shortcomings in the education system. Some of these initiatives are followed closely by several of Enda's teams in Dakar (Jeunesse Action, Graf, Ecopop (1) and Siggi), where they act more as participants in training programmes (for literacy) and supporting the organization (research-action) than as occasional helpers (providing equipment).

These popular initiatives are often the work of individuals, but mostly they come from district committees, youth associations (ASC), women's groups, artisans and young workers. In general, the structures set up by the populations meet the following needs:

- Introduction to reading and writing for 4 to 6 year-olds, giving them a better chance to pass entrance exams into the formal system.

- Extra curricular help for children already attending school, in particular those in double-shift classes, to reduce the number of drop-outs.

- Educational opportunities for children completely excluded from the formal system (in this case, training generally follows official programmes).

- Literacy programmes for young workers and adults: in this case, the structure, programmes and content of the projects are determined by the pupils themselves.

Popular training initiatives have two things in common: they are the reflection of the dynamism of a given neighbourhood and they show the will of those trying to find alternative systems in times of crisis. Initiatives in Dakar, however, have taken very different forms, depending on demand and on the human and material resources available (e.g. street corner training schemes struggling to survive on limited resources, of which a handful are supported by the youth team Siggi), learning centres in low-income areas and functional literacy groups such as those working with Enda Graf or Jeunesse Action).

Often, real schools begin to develop, schools which should not be mistaken for private establishments backed by the Government. In Guinaw-Rails, the associative primary school Daara Ji welcomes some 300 children: "Our aim is to take on children who have been rejected by the education system, or who have

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(1) Ecopop is a social development programme for urban life that favours a neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood approach. It is implemented by the actual inhabitants who look at problems of sanitation, education and economy.

EDUCATION SANITAIRE
MIEUX PREVENIR QUE GUERIR
PREVENTION CONTRE LES MALADIES
PREVENTION DU TRAITEMENT DES ENFANTS
PREVENTION DU TRAITEMENT DE LA DESHYDRATATION
SUNU SANTE
SUNU BANEHK
EAU + SUCRE + HUILE
LE LAIT MATERNEL EST PREFERABLE
EAU + SUCRE + SEL
AVEC CES COURS BEBE TOUJOURS BIEN PORTANT
SIMPLE CLAIR ET FACILE
ET LA PLANIFICATION ALORS ?
SANTE POUR TOUS
DIANE

Health education

never even been able to be a part of it", says Ousseynou Goudiaby, president of the association. "So as to exclude no one, we ask for a fee of 1,000 CFA per month per child (2), but a 100 children whose parents cannot afford to pay are given free entrance." The money collected does not provide enough for adequate working conditions and the school - a simple rented house - is far too small. There are no tables, just benches. Tutors are compensated rather than actually paid. "We have to make do with next to nothing". This doesn't prevent the kids from making up for it: "Before, I was at a state school. I didn't like it, I didn't learn anything. The teacher didn't always show up", says Oumar Sarr, grade 5 pupil representative. And results are promising: in 1996, 22 of the 24 children presented for the primary school certificate were accepted, 14 out of 23 passed their entrance exam. Formal schools' results fare no better, yet Daara Ji has still not had any kind of official recognition.

There is nothing revolutionary about the contents of the programmes, which are the same as those used at traditional schools, especially as Daara Ji takes on children from double-shift classes for extra schooling. On the other hand, tutors are very attentive towards the needs of the children: "Here, when a child doesn't

(2) Each child costs at least 6,000 CFA per month in the private sector.

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understand, he just raises his hand", explains Ousseynou Goudiaby, "which doesn't always seem to

be the case in state schools" And what is more groundbreaking: at the end of each week, children can evaluate their own teachers, discussing ideas with them in full confidence. In history and geography lessons, they learn about the area and environment in which they live. Local craftsmen are asked to invite children into their workshops on Wednesdays.

Obvious signs of pedagogical innovation can be more easily seen in the literacy programmes backed by Enda. In 1996, whether directly or through youth associations, Enda managed to reach 5,600 young people.

Enda Graf is participating in an enormous national programme on literacy for women, financed by the World Bank. It supports 73 groups (almost 3,000 people) organized into a "peoples' learning network". Monitors base their training on the needs and requests of groups (houseworkers, cloth dyers, "talibes" or shoe-cleaners). Trainers are often from these groups themselves. It is the learners who, depending on their needs, establish the content of the teaching programmes. For example, if the "talibes" living in the Darou neighbourhood at Guediawaye want to raise chickens, the monitor will come up with an appropriate programme: visiting breeding centres, learning techniques and acquiring literacy through words associated with that particular activity.

Is it really that strange then that funding agencies and international institutions, and even the Senegalese government, are becoming interested in the progress made with non-formal teaching methods? The cost/efficiency ratio has no doubt influenced the World Bank to base its ambitious priority programme for women's literacy on the know-how and initiatives of these grassroots groups - even if the concept of participation has been somewhat modified. In Rufisque, in July 1996, the cabinet director for the Ministry of Basic Education participated in a regional meeting on literacy for young people at risk, organized by Jeunesse Action and the International Catholic Child Bureau, with support from UNESCO, which had just agreed to work with the Siggi team on a programme backing training schemes in deprived neighbourhoods of Dakar.

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"You should go to a polytechnic, my son"

In Grand Yoff, the Enda Graf premises reflect the spirit of the organization: a forum open to everyone. Visitors enter a wide patio planted with the inevitable tree for shade and an area to sit and chat. The patio leads to the meeting-hall and offices. Local craftsmen and young maids gather here in groups and discuss matters with monitors and accountants from local saving and loan associations. They feel at home here where there is no hierarchy of duty or space. There is no rift between a bureaucracy of development agents - even non-governmental, - and those known as "targets" or "beneficiary populations". Instead, through working together, exchanges are made and each individual learns from the other. Dignity is written across each face. This dignity is obvious in Morwouly Ndiaye's face. He is the president of the Grand Yoff artisans co-operative, which has become highly organized as a result of its many years' work together with Graf.

The co-operative, which brings together 100 artisans from many different areas of work, has taken on almost 280 apprentices; about 35 to 60 new ones a year. "The education system trains young people without developing their abilities to face real life," Morwouly Ndiaye explains. "And when they fail at school, their parents "throw" them into a workshop". Morwouly's co-operative aims to do the exact opposite. After an initial period in which apprentices and parents alike are made to see the precious value of manual labour, a seven-year training period begins. Why so long? "The young people go through several workshops, learning every trade: carpentry, metal work, masonry, etc. The result is that they really know how to get on in life when they leave. If one job doesn't work out, they can fall back on the other skills they have acquired." Moreover, the co-operative doesn't only provide technical training: from the beginning, apprentices get to see how small businesses function; they sell their produce; and they learn to save so that they can have a certain amount of capital and credit when they leave. These "informal-sector polytechnic" students do not receive diplomas but, compared with other young people leaving the state training establishments who only have experience of one field and often in a way irrelevant to the professional world, they are well-protected for the future.

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Field trips

In 1986, when he was president of the international committee for the fight against drought in the Sahel (Cilss), the Senegalese Head of State launched a plea for all schools to contribute towards the fight against drought and desertification. Enda had been actively involved in various environmental education programmes since the late 1970s and immediately took up the cause.
A lucky coincidence: that same year the Danish government organized a huge campaign to make young people more aware of desertification. This favourable situation, led to the creation of a new team called Edev, which was to co-ordinate a wide programme on environmental education in Senegal, financed by the Danish Agency for International Assistance (DANIDA) in collaboration with the Senegalese and the Danish Red Cross.

The project "Hope in the desert" was initiated in 1989. As the idea was to implement a programme using pedagogical tools adapted to each local reality, those in charge of the project realized that they would have to work with very different groups of people: people in urban areas, those living in rural areas, and those in schools and village communities. Three places were targeted: schools in the town of Thies, farming villages in the Saint-Louis region and the Linguere district in the north of the country where nomadic and semi-nomadic groups of people can be found. In all, nearly eighty places.

Eighty-five field trips were initiated in Thies by the project between 1994 and 1995. Some 5,600 elementary and middle school children from the 26 schools in and around town were involved. More than 100 teachers were given basic training, followed by specialized sessions on understanding the environment and identifying problems and defining practical activities to be carried out with the children and communities. One innovation - at first badly received by the teachers - was to open the school doors to farmers and technicians so they could come and talk about their work.

Apart from the work aimed at increasing awareness, practical environmental education was also introduced. Numerous concrete projects were adopted to help children in their schools, and the surrounding areas. Multi-purpose gardens were created to show children how to make and use compost and sow for re-forestation (54,000 saplings were sown between 1993 and 1996). Hen houses were built, plants grown and tended, dung and clay stoves made (to use less firewood); first aid kits were set up and latrines and drains installed to comply with current health and hygiene programmes. Because improving the environment is

PLANTER DES ARBRES JUSQU'AUX PORTES DU CAYOR
LE FLEUVE INONDERA LE SAHEL
LUTTE CONTRE LA
SECHERESSE ET LA DESERTIFICATION
EN PLANTANT POUR LE SINE ET LE SALOUM
CLASSES VERTES

The fight against desertification

not necessarily peoples' immediate aim, even though ecological degradation largely contributes to poverty, the Edev programme has also set itself an economic and social task.

As the project co-ordinator, Raphael Ndiaye, says "children have learnt to appreciate cleanliness and beauty; groups of them now go around making sure the place remains clean. They even plant trees at home. Pupils have begun to feel responsible, and their teachers, the administration and many other people around participate more and more in the life of the schools".

In May 1997 Edev presented 200 copies of a publication on environmental education, aimed at teachers, to the Ministry of Education. Fifty-nine other publications, which were the fruit of ten years of research and work in deprived neighbourhoods were also presented. Even if today's Ministry has decided to integrate this environmental approach into school programmes, it remains to be seen whether they really have the means to do so. Furthermore, the future of the Edev programme, a main contributor to the improvement of many people's economic situation, is now under threat as funding from DANIDA has come to an end after eight years. As a villager from Linguere says: "You held our hands as we waded to the middle of the river. Don't let go now!"

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The prisons are open

Enda's Prevention - Detention - Rehabilitation (PDR) programme, set up in January 1993, aims to assist boys and girls in prison, in most cases for minor offences. The experiment is unique in West Africa. Initially, it was the social workers from Dakar's central prison who contacted Enda, as they were concerned about the extreme tension in the prisons and the blatant lack of activities available for inmates. After several months of awareness raising with prison authorities, the two coordinators of the programme, Outi Kasurinen and Huguette Lassort, set up a basic carpet-weaving workshop, based on the use of recuperated materials. Ten, twenty and then thirty inmates came to participate in the workshop. The experiment's success spread quickly. Other workshops were introduced (sewing, shoe-making) and the atmosphere in the prison clearly improved. Inmates were given a free rein to carry out artistic work such as painting. Other activities which had been abandoned were re-established: reading and writing, traditional wrestling, football and theatre. In March 1994, artwork made by inmates was exhibited at the Dakar African art museum: art was beginning to leave the prison walls and the public was able to discover the richness of a hidden world, a world which they had preferred to ignore. "Mussul ni am", said the Minister of the Interior in Wolof when he inaugurated the exhibition: "This can't be true! It's quite unbelievable." In fact, this event was a first in Senegalese prison history.

These initial successes pushed funding agencies - the Fondation de France, Prison Reform International, CCFD and the Coopération Française to invest in the programme, and their activities diversified and spread rapidly to other prisons in Senegal, notably to the Fort B, an old colonial building where the hundred or so prisoners are all minors.

From April 1994 this Fort B, otherwise known as the Hann detention centre, and which houses a hundred or so prisoners, underwent a facelift. As at the central prison, several workshops were created: carpet, shoe and chalk production, silkscreen printing and leatherwork. The aim was not only to keep the young offenders busy, but to give them some real training by professional artisans. Particular attention was given to the quality of work and the products' professional finish. Commercialization of this work also provided some money which was greatly appreciated - particularly when one considers that the prison's budget was only 135 CFA per day per inmate! The PDR programme has also meant an improvement in living conditions. Minors have contributed to the rehabilitation of delapidated and run-down rooms, and have improved sanitation, cells and administration buildings. A classroom and library have been created. The garden was cleared and cultivated again. One part of it was put aside for medicinal plants, with the technical guidance of Enda Santé, and another part was used for growing vegetables, which help improve the quality of inmates' meals.

Unfortunately, the continuity of programmes can sometimes suffer from change from outside (new appointments, etc.). This was the case at Fort B, where activities began to slow down in August 1994. The pro-

Prison activities

gramme, however, managed to transform an old building into workshops at the beginning of 1997. These workshops, set up outside the walls of the prison, serve to train young inmates. A workshop for the introduction of minors to mechanics and metalwork has just opened. As Huguette Lassort notes: "the other problem is, of course, to prepare for reintegration into society once you're free." There are cases where reintegration has been most successful. M. D is 27 and was let out of prison after serving a two-year sentence for petty drug-trafficking. Thanks to the PDR programme, in prison he learnt how to make furniture out of bull-horns and leather, and has now opened his own workshop in town. He has even become a trainer in his old prison: "I have a moral contract towards my old jail mates. It gives me pleasure to train people, so I can say that I help them re-integrate society". Huguette Lassort believes that in the future PDR should concentrate more on the crucial issue of re-integration. Studies are now being made to develop three-way contracts between former prisoners, artisan associations and the penitentiary administration, and to develop a kind of minimum wage which could be invested in private savings and loan accounts, allowing freed prisonners to set up their own businesses. The programme aims to increase its self-financing for the workshops through commercialization and it is planned that Enda will gradually withdraw from the management side to hand over to other programmes.

As with the prisons, other more open structures which bring together convicts on parole or probation,

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are also submitted to rigorous budgetary measures. A multi-purpose centre in Dakar in the Liberté VI district takes on young delinquents who have been placed there by the courts. Forty boarders, who are free to come and go as they please, as well as sixty children in difficult circumstances from surrounding neighbourhoods, spend the day there. Its working budget has dropped from 7 million CFA ten years ago to a current 2.4 million. At the end of May 1997, the centre had not yet received a penny of its annual allocation. How can they carry on? "Faced with a lack of government support, we have no choice but to rely on our connections and solidarity," says El Hadj Diaw, the young director of the centre, who regrets that NGOs are often reticent about supporting state-run institutions. They have to, therefore, make do with what they have. They have created a large vegetable garden to feed the children properly. Some local shops support them by lending sacks of rice.

Since 1994, the centre has become an active partner of Enda Graf. A professional has been placed half-time at their service and some materials have been offered. Graf, however, does not act as a funding agency. The idea, on the contrary, is for the centre to use its own resources and local know-how to the full. This forms the basis of the co-operation between Moussa Diop, from Enda Graf, and El Hadj Diaw. The principal asset of the centre is its complex of buildings, even if they are quite dilapidated (it was previously a French army base). By encouraging local artisans to come and train young people there, the centre tries to make the best use of its buildings. The artisans are given work-space and labour, while the young people benefit from having professional training directly connected to market realities. The aim is not only to produce but also to sell. Since 1995, several workshops have developed: car mechanics, sheet metal work, woodwork and printing, etc, with just as many inmates working as people from the outside.

This experiment is one of many constituting the Graf team's programme : "Support to active but deprived youth in Dakar". For Moussa Diop, it is essential to knock down the barriers between the various environments in which children at risk live, families, streets, prisons and education, and look at their problems in a new way. The multi-purpose centre in Liberté VI is a pioneer for this philosophy. It is no longer an eye-sore in the urban landscape but a place of continual exchange with the surrounding neighbourhood, through the presence of artisans but also because relationships are encouraged between young people living inside and outside the institution and the surrounding population. Furthermore, there is, of course, the vital dialogue being created with families to renew ties that have, often, been shattered.

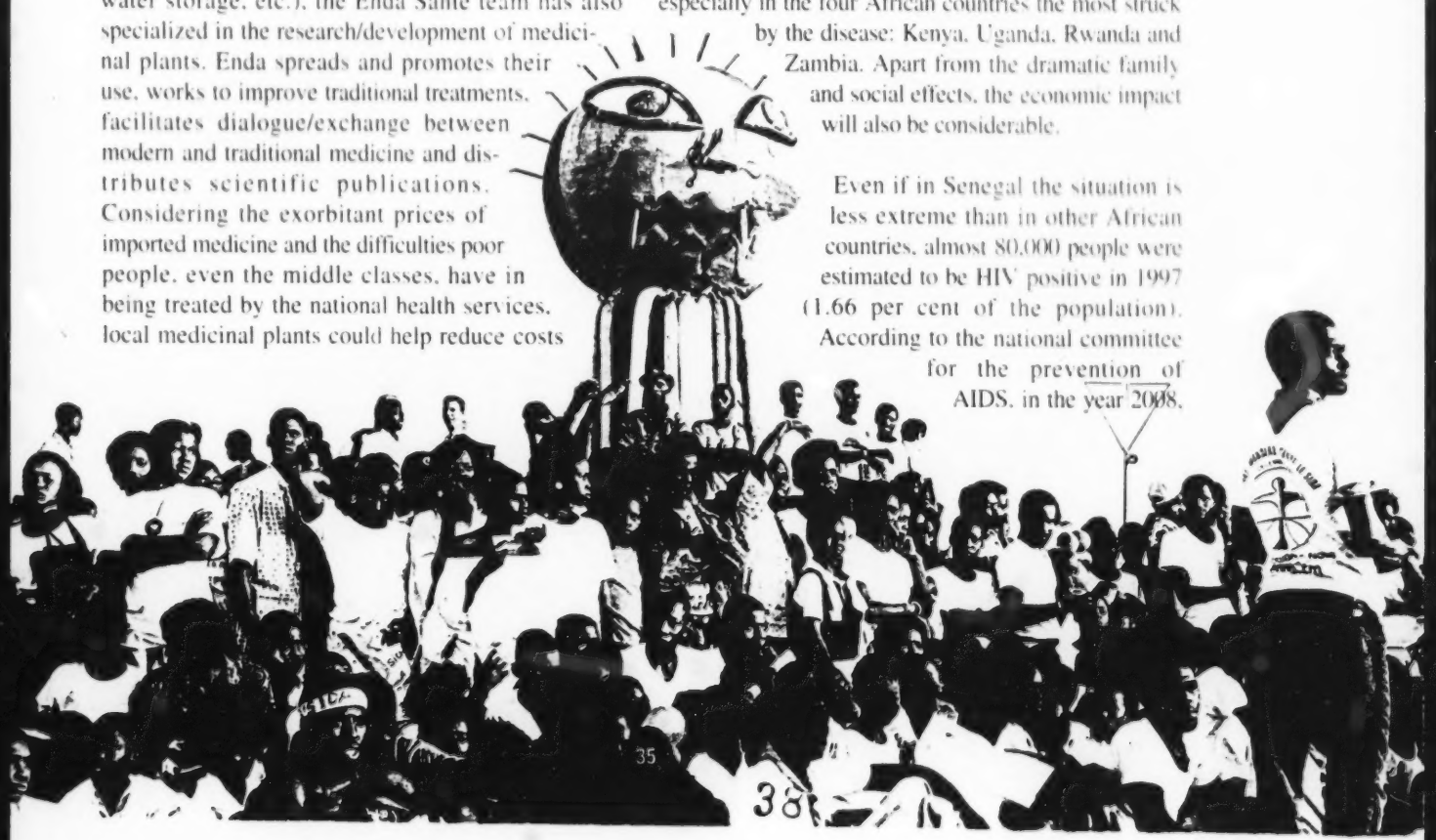
Facing AIDS

Upon entering an Enda Santé office, it's difficult to miss the stand where pamphlets and information about AIDS are offered to the public. "Do you have condoms?" asks one visitor. "Yes, they're free here," is the reply.

Enda Santé was set up in 1987 as an autonomous group (even though health has been an integral part of Enda's concerns from the very beginning). It employs twenty permanent staff who develop and support alternative methods for providing care to as many people as possible, relying mainly on local resources. Apart from a conventional approach of raising basic health awareness (nutrition and hygiene, prevention of malaria, or simple techniques to improve water storage, etc.), the Enda Santé team has also specialized in the research/development of medicinal plants. Enda spreads and promotes their use, works to improve traditional treatments, facilitates dialogue/exchange between modern and traditional medicine and distributes scientific publications. Considering the exorbitant prices of imported medicine and the difficulties poor people, even the middle classes, have in being treated by the national health services, local medicinal plants could help reduce costs considerably in the treatment of everyday health problems and generate local jobs, ranging from production to commercialization, processing to conditioning.

The appearance of AIDS and Enda's fight to combat it led the organization to make AIDS prevention a priority issue in 1986. Sub-saharian Africa is by far the most affected region of the world: 14 of the 22 million people infected in the world live there (furthermore, 94 per cent of the world's infected people live in the developing world, according to figures in 1996). Of these infected people, the majority are young adults, children and pregnant women. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the epidemic could mean 2 million orphans under the age of 10 by the year 2000, especially in the four African countries the most struck by the disease: Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia. Apart from the dramatic family and social effects, the economic impact will also be considerable.

Even if in Senegal the situation is less extreme than in other African countries, almost 80,000 people were estimated to be HIV positive in 1997 (1.66 per cent of the population). According to the national committee for the prevention of AIDS, in the year 2008,



there will be 205,5000 people (2.88 per cent of the population) infected and by then 136,200 people will have died from the illness since it first appeared.

The fact that in Africa 80 per cent of cases are the result of sexual contamination has led Enda to work mainly on raising awareness through information which, until then, had been the weak point in the chain of programmes fighting AIDS on the continent.

Between 1987 and 1989, Enda worked on raising public awareness, using radio programmes and poster campaigns, organizing marches and distributing leaflets. A car onto which young artists have painted the many ways of catching AIDS (and the ways of preventing them) is today being driven around Dakar and the centre of the country. A telephone service has been established and is operated by medical or social science students.

"Next, we began to work more closely with local people", explains Mustapha Gueye, doctor and co-ordinator of the AIDS team, which is made up of five monitor/trainers and two administrators. "We had to start answering the requests for information from numerous youth, sport and cultural associations". In 1989, a short pedagogical film was made with the help of the audiovisual team. Called *Ibra amongst us*, it tells the story of a young HIV positive man who decides to kill himself. In a great show of solidarity, the people around him manage to dissuade him. The film is a useful starting-point for discussion. People begin talking about high-risk practices and the ways to protect oneself and how to support those who are already ill.

"Demand has increased so much, that we have to work twice as hard" says Mustapha Gueye. In 1991 a training programme was designed with specific community monitors as co-ordinators. These people are trained by Enda Santé for two days and then given the responsibility of spreading information. Today, there are 1,800 community monitors in the Gambia, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal (of whom 800 are in Dakar), and they are in contact with a minimum of 100 people each. Often aged between 25 and 30, they are community representatives, members of neighbourhood or youth associations and are chosen, not by Enda, but by their own associations. Well-informed about socio-cultural realities and working within networks of solidarity and communication, they are able to spread messages to communities in a much more credible and pertinent way than anyone trying to intervene from the outside. At first, they are accompanied by Enda Santé trainers who also provide initial training materials for them. The community monitors, as well as the video *Ibra amongst us*, carry instruction books and audio cassettes (such as the film *Let me tell you about AIDS*). The main difficulty for the monitors, however, is finding funds for their work. Enda tries to point the groups towards funding agencies and NGOs such as the Alliance Nationale Contre le Sida (national AIDS prevention alliance) which helps out several associations. The main problem for Enda trainers is how to ensure some kind of follow-up after training the community monitors. Creating a forum for them, however helpful, is currently not enough. "We go back to see them after the first three months, and then after six months, but with 1,800 of them in four countries, it has become an impossible task", says Dr Gueye. "And more and more people are asking to be trained everywhere". So the aim is to encourage and stimulate other institutions to take over, by saying, "AIDS doesn't just belong to us!"

Having created this training programme, which was presented at the World Conference on AIDS in 1993, and set up, in 1995, a meeting-place for people with AIDS to come and talk in Dakar, the health team has continued intensifying its work, trying to increase public awareness not only in Senegal but in six other West African countries. This has been financed by the Fonds français d'Aide et de Cooperation (French aid and development fund). Film projections, followed by debates, now represent more than a third of the team's overall work. Since 1995, a lorry with a stage, offered by France-Rail and financed by the Coopération française and the Ministry for Health and Social Affairs visits special events: fairs, biennials, women's weeks, youth weeks, World Health Day, etc.). The lorry can be quickly transformed into a stage and is equipped with a radio studio for the presentation of concerts and plays, and for the airing of live radio programmes.

Several films, brochures and radio programmes have been produced and transmitted (in particular with RFI

Fighting AIDS

and Senegalese Radio Television). One bulletin, entitled *Action Contre le Sida* (action against AIDS), which was co-produced with the British NGO Appropriate Health Resources and Technologies Action Group (Ahrtag), provides regular information for French-speaking professionals and animators in Africa on matters of prevention, care for the sick, innovations achieved in communication, how to spread information, and connections to networks and associations. Since 1990 Enda Santé is, moreover, in charge of the African Secretariat of the International Council of AIDS Service Organizations (Icaso), an international federation of NGOs and community groups working to combat AIDS.

To ensure that the strength and energy of these grassroots associations be known despite the usual pessimistic clichés on Africa and to demonstrate how these innovative experiments in the South could enrich initiatives in the North, Icaso and Enda launched the "mur des communautés" (community wall) in 1995. It is an education programme for development in the North based on the theme of AIDS, for community groups and local associations in Europe. It consists of a large wall-painting, with several video screens built into it, describing the situation on each continent, showing how each population is using original methods to fight AIDS. This animated exhibition travelled to five French towns in 1996, as well as to London and Vancouver. For Enda, AIDS is one of many battlefields in the fight for development and creating a new vision between North and South is an essential aspect of the struggle.

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Siggi, or going to scale

"I think this week has been truly unforgettable. I'm really pleased with everything we've learnt, especially the part on medicinal plants. You have taught us so well: not even our parents taught us like that", wrote Macoumba, 13 years old. And Marietou, 14: "I think our mothers should realize that just because there are boys at the recreation centres that shouldn't stop us from going as well. We learn things here that we aren't taught at school, or at home. For example, our mothers are too influenced by advertising on the television when it comes to cooking. In fact we already have all the traditional ingredients we could use instead of the products they show us on the television".

The story began in January 1994. Along with many other NGOs, Enda was asked by the Coopération française to create a small social fund for the poorest of the poor, over a period of three months, to compensate a little for the effect of the devaluation of the CFA franc. At the time, it was estimated that 300,000 people in Dakar, one-fifth of its population, were living on less than 80 CFA per day. 100,000 of those people were children aged between 9 and 14. Usually, Enda wouldn't have rushed to provide financial aid, but the urgency of the situation led them to launch operation Siggi to finance micro-projects. Siggi in Wolof means: "Lift up your head and react against adversity".

In June, 1994, the social funds dried up. Then what? Lamine Diawara, a former member of the Boy Scouts, and professional animator in recreation centres for the young, had just joined Enda; and he suggested directing the Siggi movement towards these 100,000 extremely poor children of Dakar: "they are economically excluded, socially marginalized and witnesses to the difficulties their parents have had to confront in life. They are questioning their own future. These children are in a high-risk situation." The aim was to help the children find confidence in themselves again, to show them that they too, have the means to "stand up" and fight against poverty, in a spirit of solidarity and inventiveness.

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The formula used was field trips on the beaches of Dakar, animated by young people from sport and cultural associations (ASCs), trained especially for the occasion, and organized around the concept of Siggi. The Mission française de coopération and the European Union particularly supported the project. For these children who never "left" to go on holiday, such activities were totally unheard of. During five days, children can play games, go swimming, carry out manual activities and learn how to distinguish medicinal plants and their properties, so as to be able to look after themselves. They eat dishes prepared using local ingredients and discover how they were made; they are taught judo and self-defence, and the art of making useful objects from recycled materials. Theatre, games, singing, tree-planting, cleaning operations and discussions are all alternative means to provide ways for education, both civilian and environmental. All are an attempt to introduce solidarity and create a critical spirit. Five days isn't much, it's true, but many children pursue these activities all year round with older children from the ASCs (1), for at least two hours per week. In 1994, some 5,700 children (with as many girls as boys), attended the twelve field trip sites. The next year, they were 10, 000, then 12, 000 in 1996 (2). That same year, 281 ASCs (there are nearly 350 in Dakar) and other youth associations, were involved in following these children.

Will this experiment be able to continue? The Ministry of Youth and Sport has shown a lot of interest, but after three years in operation, long-term financing is still not assured. Operation Siggi reveals, in any case, Enda's capacity to reach out to many different people very quickly, through multiple popular networks, and one of its present strategic directions is to go beyond micro-projects and act on a larger scale.

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(1) The animators are only paid by Enda for the holding of field trips.

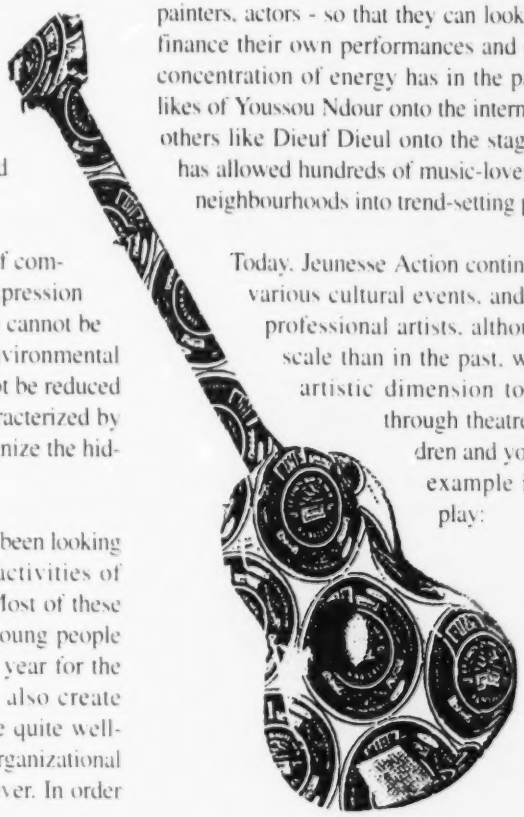
(2) Traditional recreation centres welcome no more than 2,500 children per year in all of Senegal, generally from middle-class families.

Culture for all, by all

Using culture as a catalyst for action has been one of Enda's major drives since the very beginning. Theatre, music and painting are regularly used to awaken society and to spread messages. Calls for more solidarity and tolerance, calls for people to "lift up their heads" in the face of poverty, violence and racism; making people aware of AIDS and its prevention, calls for greater respect of the environment and health, etc. In 1990, for example, Enda set up an operation with UNICEF called "mètre carré santé" (square metre for health): 1,000 square metres of wall-painting in Dakar, painted by young people, representing illnesses linked to lack of hygiene and simple ways to prevent them.

But art is not only considered a means of communication. For Enda, encouraging the expression of popular culture is an aim in itself which cannot be disassociated from economic, social or environmental action. Poverty is a complex issue. It cannot be reduced to a lack of basic necessities; it is also characterized by a lack of social ties and the refusal to recognize the hidden riches of marginalized groups.

Since 1985, the Jeunesse Action team has been looking closely, and with great interest, at the activities of sports and cultural associations (ASCs). Most of these associations, even if they only mobilize young people for short periods of up to three months a year for the football championships ("navétanes"), also create theatre or music groups and have become quite well-known in their neighbourhoods. Lack of organizational and technical means hold them back however. In order to develop a cultural role for the ASCs and to encourage emerging artists from poor backgrounds, Jeunesse Action created the Xew-Xew ("event' in Wolof) and began contributing to the organization of neighbourhood festivals at which young actors, dancers and musicians could perform, and where discussion forums and exhibitions could be held. Organizing these Xew-Xew has led artists to take the initiative themselves and make up their own collectives - of musicians, painters, actors - so that they can look for the means to finance their own performances and exhibitions. This concentration of energy has in the past propelled the likes of Youssou Ndour onto the international scene and others like Dieuf Dieul onto the stages of Dakar, and has allowed hundreds of music-lovers to turn Dakar's neighbourhoods into trend-setting places.



Today, Jeunesse Action continues its support to various cultural events, and groups of semi-professional artists, although on a smaller scale than in the past, while bringing an artistic dimension to practical work through theatre groups for children and young workers. For example in the following play:

Sanayo

Fatou Dieng accuses Aby, her new maid, of stealing her jewels. It is an excuse to dismiss her without paying her salary, even if she has already worn her out with work. This is an extract from "Sanayo" (We're tired), a play written and acted by a group of houseworkers at the HLM Montagne centre (government housing area in Dakar), accompanied by the Jeunesse Action team. The play acts out a true-life situation. The performance is generally followed by a discussion with the public and is devised as a way of communicating with the audience and as a means to increase their awareness. Like Augusto Boal's "theatre of the oppressed", which has spread over most of Latin America and beyond, this kind of event can play a socially critical and liberating role, through the words of actors.

Fatou Dieng:
Aby! Where are the jewels I left here?

Aby:
But Aunt, I haven't seen them.

Fatou Dieng:
Don't call me aunt. What do you mean you haven't seen them? Nobody I know of has been here while I was away; no Massemba or Mademba (1). You were here alone. That's it. This really is the last straw. You don't move me with your innocent look. Whatever happens, you won't get away with this lightly. I'm going over to see Astou's aunt. When I get back, I want to see my things back. Come, Astou.

(Fatou Dieng and her daughter, Astou, leave).

Chorus
Yaay waloo, yaay ku may waloo,
Man soona naa, yaay ku may waloo.
(Mother, help me, mother, who will help me?
I'm tired, mother, who will help me?)

Fatou Dieng: *(who comes back shouting)*
Where is she, the lazy thing?

Aby: *(who has sat down, jumps up)*
I'm here.

Fatou Dieng:
So you just sleep when I'm not around. You're the boss now, are you? You think you can go to sleep at this time of the day! Go on, get up. I hope for your sake that you've found my jewels (she searches a moment, and then turns back towards Aby). Don't play the idiot: I want my jewels or you won't get a cent of your money. Thief! You eat everything in my fridge, everything disappears, and now it's my jewels.

Aby:
Honest, I haven't taken anything.

Fatou Dieng:
I suppose it's me who's lying then. I could take you to the police. But I'm forgiving, so I'll just fire you. Get out of this house, and be sure, I'll never pay your salary. You can go and complain wherever you want. If you want your pay, show me my jewels first.

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(1) Tom, Dick or Harry

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Set Setal, the big clothes wash

of the city were covered in frescoes. The painters were not professionals but young people who were just wanting messages in colour for all to see. Some had already tried their hand at painting during the Ende[illegible] Portraits of popular figures, slogans, street scenes, the mural paintings spoke to all of their problems and demands. Ende also documented the movement, classifying the works, analysing the art and the [illegible] instilling a sense of responsibility for the common good. "We [illegible] what our country can do for us, we're asking for what we must [illegible] people" (1).

[illegible] a season of particularly violent rains, combined with the bankruptcy of the national company in charge of garbage collection, transformed Dakar into a huge dustbin. By August, the situation had become unbearable. The population was threatened by disease. [illegible] Enough is too much, a cloud of [illegible] engulfed the inhabitants and [illegible] movements. Set Setal – to clean and make clean" in wolof – caught on like [illegible] across the city. From Irlene to Ouakam, every day the same scenes could be seen: young people, women, old people and children out in the streets, armed with [illegible] pans, rakes and wheelbarrows, out to make their neighbourhood clean. It was a mass movement [illegible] high tide over Dakar's south-to-west [illegible]. The result was immediate and the capital was quite coloured with [illegible] address their [illegible] to the enthusiasm of the [illegible] for dirt and [illegible] and rubber-soled "waste" [illegible] where the walls [illegible] artists, but mainly [illegible] to read. Many [illegible] on health, prospect[illegible] men books for the [illegible] this spontaneous [illegible] pressed an [illegible] to [illegible] We're not asking [illegible] people" (1).

Set

(one of the "lines" sung during the Set Setal by Youssou N'dour)

Clean in your mind
Clean in your deeds
That's what I say to you
Clean, so clean
Clean in your soul
Clean in your body
Clean in your words
Clean towards your companions

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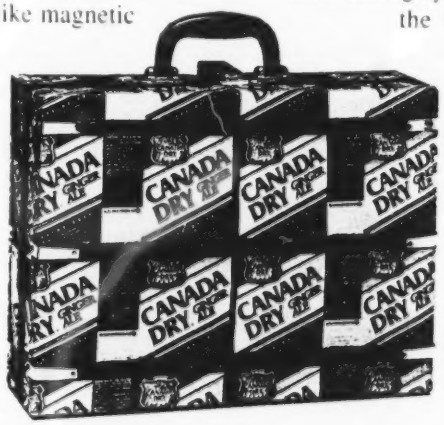
Questions

Those who try to navigate in and out of the complicated Enda structure can easily lose their bearings. In the Dakar landscape, the programmes of the different teams often touch on each other, and can even meet at times over the same issue, the same neighbourhood, around the same set of problems expressed by different sets of people. One of the next institutional challenges for Enda will be to impose more coherence and greater clarity in relation to these groupings of initiatives by drawing together similar projects and fighting the risk of territorial claims between the teams. Yet like magnetic fields, there are bonding common principles linking together the elements of this perpetually moving galaxy.



One of the most essential of Enda's principles, and one which the organization constantly struggles to uphold, is that it is the people themselves, and, in particular, the poorest, the excluded, and those who have no say in matters, who conceive and execute their own developmental strategies. The initiatives, the networks and the opportunities for participation certainly already exist. People have not been waiting around for an NGO or a funding agency to come along and find solutions to their problems. It is from these opportunities and from what people are actually already doing that there are ways forward and possibilities for interaction. Nothing so new in all this: however the concept of the "participatory approach", the big hobby horse of development, is rarely taken so far. Most, projects limit themselves to associating the so-called beneficiaries to the execution of a project, hoping they will catch on. For example, in the beginning, in 1975, the Enda Chodak team which was to become Enda Graf initiated several economic projects, and organized groups of people to work on them. However, these actions, which had been artificially set up, fell apart one after the other. This bitter experience led to a new approach which was to start with existing dynamics and networks, giving back the leadership of processes to the people themselves, from conception through to evaluation, allowing people to negotiate conditions and operations fully throughout.

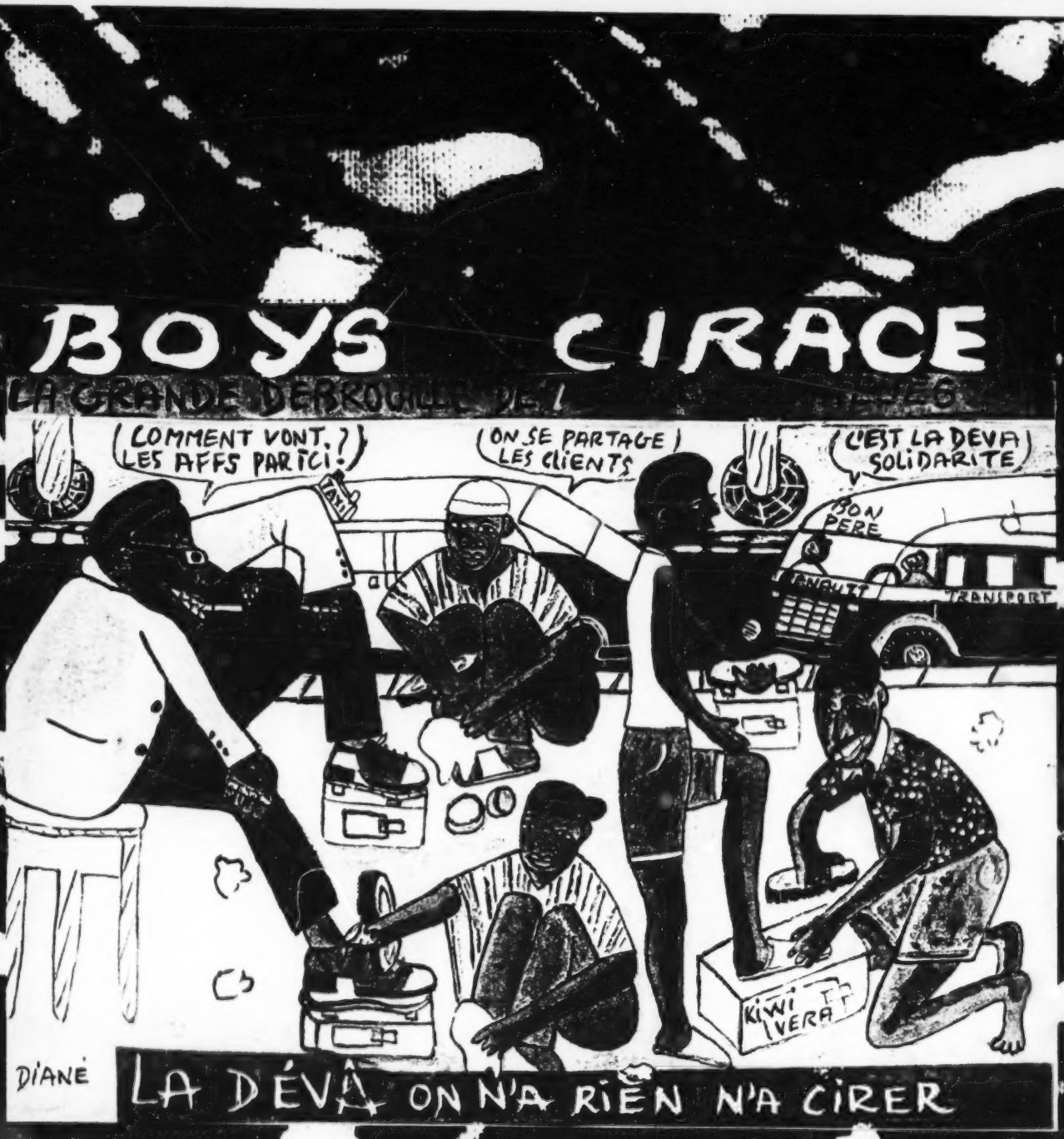
Another of Enda's philosophies, much in keeping with the participatory approach, is to encourage people to rely on their own resources and sever dependency on the outside world as much as possible. This is not simply a question of dignity, or even a precaution (funding won't last for ever); it is an absolute condition for the viability and relevance of any development action. It stimulates innovation and allows organizational and economic capacities, never dreamed of before, to blossom. It was in this way that the women's savings and loan associations of Grand-Yoff, under the supervision of the Enda Graf team managed to increase their membership from 700 to 25,000

between 1987 and 1996. They now handle nearly 650 million CFA in credits per year which are then injected back into the popular urban economy.

But how can people be asked to rely on their own resources when poverty is steadily getting worse? Part of the answer lies in local initiatives. In Dakar, as elsewhere, young ASC members, neighbourhood associations, GIE (Groupements d'Intérêt économique or common economic interest groups), women's groups, with little material means, but with a disconcerting amount of energy, are taking over from the weakened state system which no longer has the funds to guarantee public services. In Guinaw-Rails, for example, young Djokoo ASC members have set up a brigade which provides neighbourhood watch services, as the police cannot always be at hand and delinquency is on the rise. These squads of "vigilantes", who are becoming more and more common in Dakar, function thanks to contributions from families in the area. Again in Guinaw-Rails, the Daara Ji associative school, makes up, as best it can, for the lack of primary schools. Examples such as these are numerous. The small fees the inhabitants pay with their minimal incomes, however, cannot alone finance these parallel public services (education, household waste disposal, neighbourhood security, etc.), which are springing up just about everywhere with varying degrees of success. These services, therefore, really have to rely mainly on volunteering, solidarity and the dynamism of associations - associations which are increasingly under pressure since the worsening of the urban crisis.

To what extent will ASC's be able to provide school support and socio-educational services? Will they create parallel classes? How much can one rely on their goodwill? How far can their inventiveness, powers of organization and resources be upgraded and backed to make up for the state's insufficiencies as it pulls out its public service responsibilities? For this reason several Enda teams in Dakar are closely following the process of decentralization and observing the strengthening of local powers. With the recognition of the richness and efficiency of these grassroot initiatives, the challenge now will no doubt be to arrive at a negotiated and common management of urban policies, whether in education and health or even economic development.

The "welfare state", which has only ever functioned in Senegal and elsewhere in Africa for a small minority of people, is a myth which is slowly disappearing. Similarly, the foreign models of economic development, which have been followed to date, have not succeeded and have cast aside whole sectors of society. Will the State and development organizations know how to support those who have been neglected for so long in a concrete way? Not just by making speeches, but by actually backing initiatives in both the public services and in the so-called "informal" economy? Will a new state of citizenship ever see the day, where the poor will have their say in the management of public concerns? For Enda, as for other organizations trying to encourage the emergence of economic and social alternatives based on the dynamics of the poor themselves, this is a great challenge for the future.



Young shoe-cleaners

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LES METIERS ET ARTS DE LA RUE

EN AVANT A MUSIC
ASC BOUL TOPOTO
FAIDHERBE!! JE TE TUERE QUE MALAAW NE VERA PAS LE CHEMIN DE FER
QUEL THEATREUR CE LAT !
ASC VANDITE

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LE DROIT DE TRAVAILLER EN SECURITÉ
SANS ETRE RAFLÉ PAR LA POLICE
NOUS AVONS LE DROIT D'ÊTRE RESPECTÉ
NOUS AVONS LE DROIT D'ÊTRE ÉCOUTÉ
C'EST PAS NORMAN MOUSSÉ
LANE

The right to work in freedom

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Adult literacy campaign

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FEATURES

Education to fight exclusion

A forum for popular a
(multi-purpose centre f

"We should take into account the urban popular economy, as its contribution to local development is remarkable", declared Abdou Diouf, President of Senegal on 13 April, 1996, when Enda's West African Ecopole was inaugurated as a centre for research and exchange of popular arts and skills.

The fact that a head of state should draw attention to what is usually described as the "informal sector" is a form of progress in itself. Indeed, how can one continue to term "informal" an economy which allows more than half the population of many African towns to survive? An economy which, according to the International Labour Organization, creates about 90 per cent of urban jobs in sub-Saharan Africa? And which can represent up to 50 per cent of the gross national product, as is the case in Senegal, according to official sources.

The so-called informal sector has become the main vector for productive activity for the majority of the poor, who, themselves, make up the majority of the population. It is an economic system which represents perhaps the last resort against extreme poverty, youth unemployment and social marginalization. A system such as this which generates jobs and income surely deserves much more than its current negative label.

The popular economy is made up of a multitude of small businesses, often family-run, but also of private

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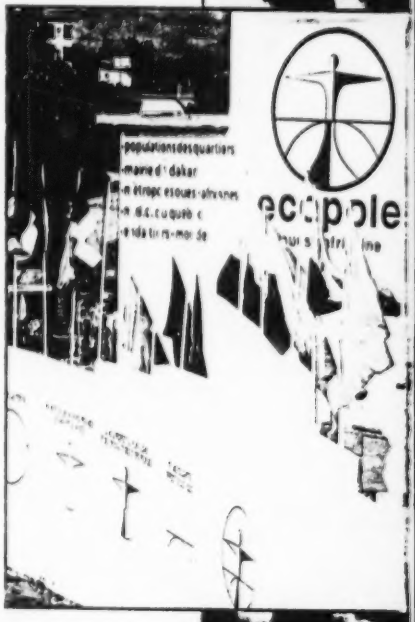
ts and skills - The West-African "Ecopole" r sustainable development)

initiatives led by women and youth groups. Jobs vary greatly from: casting saucepans out of recycled aluminium or briefcases from used food cans, repairing electronic machines, sewing, selling and transporting water, mechanics, carpentry, business, even banking...This economy is a rational response to scarcity: it employs all the human and material resources available, with enormous inventiveness. And one cannot dismiss it as being a mere survival-economy which allows people to "just scrape through". It increasingly makes up for the shortcomings of the state, or its absences in all areas from schooling for the young, improving sanitation and waste collection, etc. It has moved beyond the basic family unit to create extended networks. Finally, far from being simply a grouping of economic activities, the popular economy has reinvented a certain social structure, where those excluded from the modern system (the unemployed, the handicapped, the elderly, the young), can find their place.

Enda realized that establishing meeting-places for exchange, so that these initiatives could become known and recognized, was crucial. Initially in 1990 there had been an idea, to create "ecomusées" (living museums), in collaboration with the town administration of Dakar but the project never saw the light of day. So in 1995, Enda came up with the idea of transforming and renovating a disused gas factory next to the slum area of Rail, in the heart of the city. It was bought and restored with the help of the European Union, and became the West-African Ecopole, a place dedicated to the urban popular economy. It is home to the travelling exhibition "Ingénieuse Afrique" (Inventive Africa), which retraces the imaginative art of collecting and recycling in Africa (put together with the Museum of Civilisation in Quebec, Canada). Through the exhibition, one discovers the extraordinary technical skills of anonymous recycling geniuses with their stoves made of clay, recycled shoes and clothes, toys and sculptures. The centre also hosts workshops where craftsmen using recycled materials train the neighbourhood's children. But the Ecopole does not intend to be merely a living museum of popular arts and traditions. Originally conceived of as a place to collect and document experiences and hold seminars, it hopes to function in the long-term as place of exchange open to all, to disseminate technological innovations and stimulate debate on issues around the popular economy.



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Research-action-training:
« Our strategy for navigation »

"Recherche-action-formation" (research-action-training) is at the heart of Enda's approach. It is an approach that takes people as its starting point, it is they who analyse their own situations (research), and bring about solutions to the problems identified (action). Through the process comes an opportunity for learning (training) where an initial analysis or project can be corrected along the way, depending on emerging failures or new problems. For Enda, this approach is one of the prerequisites for success in development projects.

Within this policy framework, the role of the NGO is rather humble: identifying existing social initiatives, recognizing people's capacities and skills and facilitating analysis of work and context, at times playing the role of mediator between grassroots groups, public institutions and funding agencies.

The text below illustrates this approach, and is entitled "Our strategy for navigation", an orientation document formulated for the Enda Graf team (Group for research-action-training), which has come up with some important theoretical analysis through its work with Senegalese women farmer associations and inhabitants of Dakar's suburbs.

1. No one other than the people themselves can define their "project for society", and really identify their needs and possibilities;

2. People can only do this if they are willing to analyse themselves and their context honestly;

3. This diagnosis must hail a new collective sense, both critical and reflective, which does not exclude conflicts, and gives rise to learning;

4. Through a self-learning process, and dynamic use of conflicts, responsible common strategies can evolve;

5. Foreign backing should only be envisaged as a temporary response to questions which might arise from a group on its present and future situations;

6. True collective change is possible if one strengthens the processes of communication and mutual learning of groups facing the same challenges;

7. State institutions and aid organizations will not change in depth unless powerful social forces oblige them to do so.

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Popular strategies for progress:
Another way of looking at the future

A project to give slum dwellers the chance to undertake urban development evaluation, in Addis Ababa, Rabat, Bombay or elsewhere? What will Enda think of next? Discussing the future of a town or a neighbourhood is a luxury of the rich, certainly not of the poor, whose first thought upon waking is what to eat that evening. This doesn't have to be true, insists Jean-Jacques Guibbert, specialist of popular economies, who is at the origin of this new Enda project. If we manage to think more about the future, look beyond the present day and have a desirable image of the future, we might have a chance to improve current situations whilst defining a way forward. It is a very ambitious plan: "to help those suffering the most from the urban crisis to express themselves on the future of the towns in which they live, and take their proposals to decision-makers, with a view to identifying the conditions and modalities of a joint strategy for progress". In short, Enda's prospective urban programme aims to give a voice - and power - to the poor, who certainly have something to say about defining and executing urban policies. Some proposals have already been carried out in ten of the countries where Enda is established. In Dakar, at the end of 1996, 300 young people from the ASCs joined in a project to define the "town we want to live in". Several other socio-economic projects have since been launched as a result of this work and young people presented their priorities to local mayors, municipal advisors and town-planning experts in April, 1997. A step forward towards participation in town management? To be continued.

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Enda around the world: The Malian example

In Bamako, as in Dakar, Enda is working with the deprived, particularly the young, in the search for a more equitable society. In Mali, Enda has concentrated on the following areas: literacy, socio-professional training, income-generation, health, theatre and sport. It supports local associations for the young, women and children and actively promotes alternative learning opportunities for youth such as music, business skills, etc. Like other African capitals, Bamako is the focal point for much of the country's administrative and economic activities and therefore attracts rural migration. The city is rapidly expanding in an anarchic fashion with the development of slum areas. It is within these areas, deprived of schools and facilities, that Enda Mali is the most active and is carrying out programmes for the young at risk from marginalization, disease, and exploitation.

From 1-5 December 1997, UNESCO (Education and Communication Divisions) with a leading NGO, Aide et Action, and the Government of Mali organized a workshop in Bamako with support from Enda Mali. The workshop brought together representatives of innovative basic education projects from 7 French-speaking West-African countries, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo. Enda Mali's presence was instrumental in reminding the participants of the harsh realities facing marginalized people and helped push discussions towards concrete decisions. The meeting started with an essential question which also guided much of the proceedings: how are we to achieve education for all in West Africa when resources are limited, the formal education system failing and the needs and contexts of learners so varied? During debates, part of the answer, it was felt, lay in the many innovative and ground-breaking projects and experiences of the region, projects which, through alternative approaches such as theatre, use of national languages, community-based curricula, etc. had managed to bring learning opportunities to the widest number despite a lack of funds. The role of organizations such as Enda, UNESCO or Aide et Action in these innovative experiences was discussed as was the attitude of governments towards these initiatives. The workshop resulted in a fusion of opinions in an effort to inject new ideas and vigour into education in the region. Each innovative project held useful lessons, for example in the ways they had overcome obstacles such as parental reticence or in the way they had developed learning methodologies specifically adapted to the local context. One point stated by all participants was that blindly carrying on with current systems would certainly lead to increased failure and that if education for all were ever to become a reality it would be through concerted action from all parties involved (State, NGO and Community) and through an understanding that there is no one single correct way of learning but that many means are possible provided resourcefulness and a broader vision of education are employed. Today, the actors from the Bamako workshop are carrying on working together in an innovations network for basic education and community media in the region. Enda Mali, through their work in urban areas, found a group of young rap musicians, The **Rabba Boyz**, to sum up the findings of the workshop. Their song full of anger at the way young people have to suffer from exploitation and lack of opportunities grew into an urgent call for action. Their text went as follows:

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THE SOUND OF ANGER

Opening song performed by the Rabba Boyz

We are the children of the world!
Where, my friends, is the meaning of solidarity in this life?
How can we stop the virus of despair that is rife?
Through basic education in the community!

More morality,
more conviviality,
far from banality,
listen to my groove!
In this land of ill-gotten sex,
full of defeat, we only think to compete.
We have missionaries with their rosaries, under the sun, heavy like a gun.
But they carry out their missions with false promises and that wounds me that weakness of personal interest which only interests those who are getting the best. But I bear the test.
They feast their feasts with no taste and that's a waste,
So much spending without pity for children who die in suffering.
For when is our freedom coming?
Sexual violence for the weakest with no proof
Out in the cold, God help and love those without a roof
But really young guy, you won't go to school, of course not you're too poor!
Your father and your mother, they have no time, they're too busy surviving for more.
Days come and go until sudden death. Your life is as hard as stone, don't forget you're raw to the bone.

I have no time to think about my future as I have no past nor bread
Let me tell you what my conscious has left in my head.
I'm deprived. I haven't had the time to think of my future as I have no past.
Just the time to breath and breath fast
Without an education which might have saved my life.
Oh my friend, I'm full of strife.
I live here throwing up my suffering through my soul.
Crying out but no one thinks me whole.
There are thousands of people like me
We throw ourselves into delinquency.
Drugs, theft, muggings and little humanity.
We are the children of society.

Give us our rights!
I am a suffering child unknown to you all
I ask myself where I come from as I have no call
I am the child without protection
I am the child with aggression
Respect me, protect me
consult me,
don't insult me,
I'm hungry and angry and burning for learning so listen to my warning:
I ain't no fool, I know the rule,
it would be cool to be in school,
But I'm stamping my feet outside in the street.
I have no identity so I have no school
In my land without rule.

I am the lost child
I worry and I will worry about the placing of my bed in my imaginary night
For I'm being worked up for a fight
Weapons in hand to kill my brothers
When I really burn to live for others

Yes to live with clean water and food
I am the least listened to child of this mood
I want to cry but my words slip away like wind into the sand
I'm treated like a rat, dying of inequality of no particular brand
Freedom is an expense I can't afford
I'm even deprived of the sword

They take decisions for me instead
I need you! I need your love and your daily bread
Not caring for the unknown person that I am
Not finding an answer to this sham
I just want to ask for one forgotten thing: my rights

I demand them now, yes whether you like it or not, I demand them now!
Education is the basis of a child's future
Every child deserves the right to freedom and culture
Compulsory education, elementary and free
Education should prepare a child to live in a spirit of mutual charity
Understanding, peace and tolerance for me.

.../...

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.../...

The right to education, the right to health,
We want to satisfy our hunger for ourself
We want to be looked after when we are ill
We want to have places to thrill
We want to read and write
We want protection from this plight
Show them to me, my father, my mother and more
My people, the Soundiata and the Damonzon and the poor
Let me criticize our poor fathers living in poverty without cleanliness
Let me criticize those who don't work, marry many and produce even less
And, me, I'm dying to go to school
Education is and will be the fruit of our rule.

A message for the leaders of our country:
think of our future if you want to cope
as we are your future hope.

© The Rabba Boyz

After anger... HOPE!

Closing song performed by the Rabba Boyz

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Honourable guest.
Listen to my conclusion of this test.
I'm talking about the Ministers' presentation
of this debate on Basic Education.
During the debate,
I learnt that so long
as we are together we are strong.
Together we can change the community,
As some are born with opportunity
and others are born into non-choice with no voice.

Think about it!
Why am I on the street like a fool?
Why didn't I go to school?
Why doesn't school give me a profession
or lead to hope to stop my depression?

Why these words and this cry ?
Why does the message of my text have to die?
Just the way the dog barks and the caravan comes to lie.
All these meetings are nothing unless we see
that together we are strong to be forcing the force of our future projects.

Let us find a solution together
so that Basic Education forever
is a common endeavour.
As working hand in hand
will make us stand with the support of all parties: State, NGO and Community to fight the common adversity.
We need imagination and innovation.
So that we the young come first!
To all countries concerned, we have a thirst:
we have to work hand in hand!
Act together and let us stand towards change and communication.
We need imagination and innovation.
As learning is living,
Living is learning.
We have to act together!

Innovate, Innovation.
For us the children first
For us the children always.

I am an unknown child
Give me my rights!
I'm still waiting for them.
Us, young people, we need solutions.
We need imagination and innovations.
Think about it, learning is living
And living is learning.

Goodbye and good riddance to false promising.
So for a real education
through my voice in this situation
let's put the children first.
For us the children always.

I am an unknown child.
Give me my rights!
I'm still waiting for them.

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Enda in 1997: a few statistics

- **15** branches in **14** countries, of which 8 in Africa, 2 in Asia, 3 in Latin America and the Caribbean
- **24** specialized teams and/or programmes of both local and international level based in Dakar (Enda Jeunesse Action, Enda Santé, Siggi, urban development, audiovisual unit, etc.)
- nearly **200** people work for Enda (including the headquarters in Dakar and the various branches)
- Enda has an annual budget of **US$ 11 million** (headquarters and the various branches included).

Enda and young people

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Acknowledgements

Thanks to all the staff at Enda teams in Dakar and to all those I met, for their help, advice, encouragement and the time they spent with me.
Thanks to all those who have helped to create a better future in Dakar. May their work continue and spread across the world.
Special thanks to Jeremie and Armagnon.
Thanks to Edouard Diatta and Yoann Nachimanit.

I dedicate this publication to Maimagher, Ouiss and Mr. Mbaye.

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Photo-engraving: **AMC Editions**, *Paris, France*
Art direction: **Jacques Zalides** - *Hexa Graphic, Paris, France*
Printed by: **Marco Grafico**, *Madrid, Espagne*
Art direction Enda: **Amadou Diallo**
Illustrations: **Boubacar Diane**
Photographs: **Enda Tiers Monde**

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The international non-governmental organization, Enda Tiers Monde, based in Dakar Senegal, has many facets: street schools for working children, art and music shows for marginalized youth, town planning programmes, income generation activities for prisoners, drugs and AIDS prevention campaigns, etc. Throughout the streets of the crowded capital, in the most deprived slums, and with the people most at risk, Enda is attempting to redefine attitudes and approaches to work, learning and environmental preservation.

Strongly attached to the ideal of "participation" in any development project, Enda's teams work closely with local people in elaborating and carrying out programmes. They strongly believe that it is the young and the poor themselves, who normally have no say, who should conceive and carry out their own development strategies. For it is their knowledge and art of survival, despite a lack of resources, that hold the keys to success. Why shouldn't the poor, for example, have a say in the planning of their cities? Why shouldn't the excluded influence educational policies too? Why shouldn't the imaginative lessons and skills of the popular or so-called informal economy stimulate and boost development? Why rely on outside models when the answer lies within?

Active in Senegal since 1972, Enda is now carrying its activities to other countries of Africa, Asia and to Latin America. Their alternative approaches to today's world of globalization, urban expansion, economic instability and fast demographic growth are of particular relevance to all those seeking an appropriate and equitable future for the countries of the South.

ISSN 1020 - 0800
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